REAL FULL EMPLOYMENT: 70,000,000 JOBS ... P. 3

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The Pennsylvania Story

Truman's broken promises kept the voters home

By James Higgins
GUARDIAN Special Correspondent

YORK, PA.

THE Republican victory of John P. Saylor in the special congressional contest in Pennsylvania's 26th District last week seems to have established the party's campaign theme for the 1950 elections.

Saylor, a hefty, six-foot-four Navy veteran who looks typecast for his role of go-getter business man turned politician, defeated Mrs. Robert L. Coffey Sr., whose selection as Democratic candidate followed the death of her son, Rep. Robert L. Coffey Jr., elected in 1948 and killed in a plane crash early this year.

"SOCIALIST" TRUMAN: Saylor, opposed by the CIO Political Action Committee, the AFL Political Education League and the Railroad Brotherhoods, stressed a single note over and over again: the "socialist" direction of President Truman's "Fair Deal."

House Republican leader Joseph W. Martin wired Saylor: "You deliberately chose to make President Truman's socialist program the issue and you pulled no punches in driving its dangers home to the people."

WHERE WAS LABOR? National Democratic Chairman William M. Boyle Jr., remarked that Republican claims "were greatly exaggerated as far as repudiating the President's program is concerned."

Neither Republicans nor Democrats, however, referred to the real political facts of the contest. Until 1948, when Mrs. Coffey's son was elected by a margin of 12,000 votes, the Central Pennsylvania district of three counties had been represented by a Republican for more than 20 years. A large labor vote turned the trick for the Democrats last November.

But the labor vote did not appear for Mrs. Coffey, a political novice and somewhat bewildered campaigner, represented as a "100% supporter of the Fair Deal."

DEMOCRATS FLOP: The "Fair Deal," or perhaps the lack of one, failed to bring registered Democrats to the polls. Typical of the situation was the town of Patton, home base for a Democratic state senator. Here Democrats enjoyed a registration superiority of 1,066 to 645 but Saylor came out ahead, 631 to 561. The pattern was repeated in scores of towns, townships and boroughs.

Although political experts skipped the point, the conclusion was obvious: high-powered endorsements from the chiefs of labor cannot take the place of promises kept.

The lesson in Pennsylvania's 26th District was not that Saylor's oft-quoted "American way of life" defeated the "welfare state." Rather, the lesson was that labor voters who believed and cast ballots for Truman last fall are turning apathetic; aroused in 1948 by pledges based on the social and economic reforms begun during the days of Franklin D. Roosevelt, they have reacted in 1949 to the fact that not one of the pledges has really been kept. Disillusioned, they stayed home.

NO REAL CHOICE: The election harks back to the Progressive Party's statement of its reasons for existence: if voters are not given a real choice, the democratic process is meaningless. In the 26th District there was, actually, no choice: Saylor, outspoken reactionary, against Mrs. Coffey, hand-picked candidate of a machine that makes promises and breaks them.

Last week's primaries throughout the state, however, showed that in a number of places voters in November general elections will have a choice. Progressive Party candidates for such offices as mayor, city council and school board will be on the ballot in Philadelphia, York, Ambridge and Reading.

In Spring Grove Adam Swartz, Progressive Party candidate of York County, swept all primaries. Swartz was nominated for Assessor on Progressive, Republican and Democratic tickets.

United Nations photo

For them the UN means a full cup

It comes from the UN Children's Emergency Fund—one of the many UN agencies working for a better world. On Sept. 20 the UN Assembly opens and the hope of the peace-loving world sits in with it. For the issues it will discuss see Marcelle Hitschmann, P. 7.

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THE MAILBAG

Paul Robeson's guts

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Memo to Conrad Harris: Your statement about ALL the Negroes with whom you talked seems to imply that Negroes generally thought Paul Robeson's statement silly. I believe I know at least as many Negroes as you do, having traveled around the U.S. for four years for the national YWCA and the national NAACP before going into medicine.

Many intelligent Negroes feel that we need many men with the courage and the guts of Paul Robeson—as long as decent Negro American citizens, who want to live decently, can be attacked and murdered as they have been recently in Peekskill and Brooklyn.

I have never lived in Russia, but I spent seven years in other European countries, where men and women are respected for what they are, regardless of the pigmentation of their skin. And I can understand Paul Robeson, as do many Negroes who have never been out of the U.S., but who have been ruthlessly "kicked around" in this so-called Christian democracy.

Certainly, Mr. Harris, your statement that Jackie Robinson or Joe Louis or a Walter White "could more easily be a leader" than Robeson is the silliest statement yet. You, Mr. Harris, are probably silly enough to wish you could follow and see 15,000,000 Negroes follow Walter White's latest silly idea of bleaching their skin as a solution for the race problem.

To keep the record straight, I am a Negro.

Catherine D. Lealtad, M.D.

●

Putsch in Peekskill

CHICAGO, ILL.

When uniformed storm-troopers attack a peaceful gathering of American citizens attending a concert — it can happen here — you don't need a balcony in Rome or a beer hall in Munich.

True Americanism can be abandoned at an abandoned golf course at Cortlandt, N.Y., if the anti-fascists (so-called "reds") of this country do not defend the Bill of Rights.

I am a member of the VFW, but when that organization goes fascist like the Legion and attacks the basic American freedoms of speech and assembly, I resign.

If anyone needed further proof that the real danger to this country is from fascism, NOT communism, there you have it. The untruthful American press and radio is responsible for the confusion of the American people.

Tom Kingswood

●

Interracial marriage

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Because all races are equal, there must be equality in marriage. Interracial marriage must be accepted before any individual can call himself progressive. Despite the so-called liberal view of progressives, I find very few willing to accept the fact that there is only one human race. These so-called progressives approve of interracial dances, but refuse to accept interracial marriage. These misfits belong with those Dixiecrats, Republicans, and others who oppose interracial marriage.

John Holman Jr.

●

A Fowler fan

CHESTER, PA.

I wouldn't want to miss an issue of the GUARDIAN, especially not when it contains an article by C. W. Fowler, one of my favorite writers.

Lois M. Conrade

●

Beavers for progress

FLINT, MICH.

The greatest danger to our liberty and democracy is the terrible condition of our daily press and radio. Even many of our union publications are dishing out some of the same poison in somewhat diluted form.

If our people are to act in their own interests, the truth in the news must be brought to them. To do this we must work like beavers to build the GUARDIAN.

Every reader should do the following:

1. Subscribe for one full year.
2. Secure at least five one-year subs from friends.
3. Donate subs for people who we think should read the GUARDIAN.
4. Give one-year subs to friends and relatives as gifts for birthdays, Christmas, etc.
5. Pass along each issue to friends to acquaint them with it.
6. Send in the names and addresses of people anywhere in the U.S. who we think should receive a trial subscription.

Ralph Horton, Chairman, Progressive Party of Flint

●

A vote for Henry

PORT ARANSAS, TEX.

Henry Wallace got my vote and always will if he runs. And I think I got him several more votes. Yours for good government.

J. M. Patrick

●

Just a little shove

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Keep up your splendid work. I never waste a copy—pass it around where I feel it would do the most good—people requiring just a little shove in the right direction, "our direction," where they can learn real facts.

●

Capitol stock

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

I've always been interested in exactly which Senators and Congressmen—who voted so many millions of dollars for armaments and planes, as exemplified in the Atlantic Pact—owned stock in corporations which would benefit by such appropriations.

Just on a hunch, I'll wager plenty of our representatives own stock in such corporations.

Raymond Bierly

●

Add auto insurance

MALDEN, MASS.

In reading the **Dollar Stretcher** I find you haven't listed the Factory Mutual Limited Insurance Co. of Providence, R.I., paying as high as 45% dividends on accident insurance.

D. W. Chasef

●

And we you, Mildred

LYNBROOK, L. I.

Keep up the good fight for honesty, fearlessness, real democracy and peace! We love you. . . .

Mildred R. Angell

●

Dig down deep

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

How many Americans really realize how seriously near a third world war we are? How many, many Americans, anxious for knowledge, are still "slaves" to the capitalist press, waiting to be acquainted with publications like the GUARDIAN. One reading makes it a "must" and I wish all my fellow GUARDIAN readers would dig into their little address books and wake up some more people.

Mildred Mackler

●

A strong complaint

CHICAGO, ILL.

As a charter member of the Progressive Party of the State of Virginia, I feel it my right and duty to write to you and complain about your vicious attack on the Catholic Church and Cardinal Spellman.

It seems that whenever you have a chance to interpret anything that is news, so that that it will be or seem detrimental to the Cardinal, you do so. It seems that all you are interested in is the one thing that we founded the Progressive Party to fight against. Discrimination. You have continually fought against the Catholic Church supposedly in the interest of the working people in the U.S. and abroad, but it is only in the political interest of the Communist Party.

I thought that the day would never come when I would see that the political party that I helped found in one state and travelled about into other states and organized, would fight against one of the organizations that we endorsed and promised to help in their fight against discrimination.

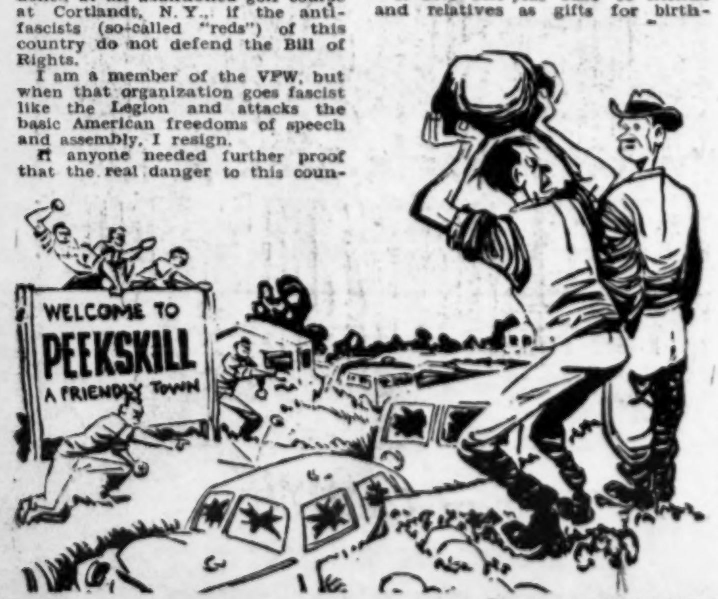
I feel as though I have been duped and I would like to make this letter my resignation from the Progressive Party.

Furthermore, this letter is addressed to the mail bag and if there is anything of the fairness of the Party left, you will publish it. In fact I defy you to.

John F. Carroll

●

Mr. Carroll does not specify what the GUARDIAN has published which he regards as a "vicious attack on the Catholic Church." We have never attacked the institution of the Catholic Church nor the right of any person to worship as he pleases, or not to worship at all. The GUARDIAN has criticized actions of members of the Catholic Church hierarchy whenever it felt that these actions threatened the peace of the world or the traditional rights of Americans. If Mr. Carroll wishes to resign from the Progressive Party, his resignation should be addressed to the Progressive Party. Ed.



Drawing by Fred Wright

"Come on and throw something or people will think you're one of these damn commies!"

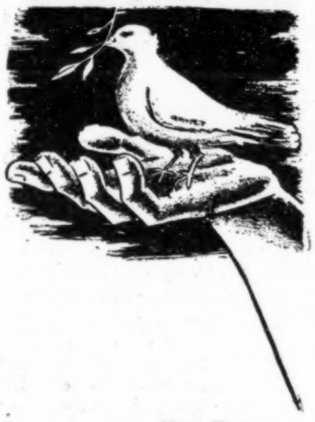
Jennings Perry

The wheat and the chaff

MEXICO CITY

THE young poet with the beautiful face, a shade darker than Lord Byron's, rises in the wooden stand and says his piece about war and peace—against war and for peace. I have him in a side view from a back tier of the packed arena. His left hand rests lightly on his hip, his right hand gestures with grace; his face lifts into the spotlight and his glistening eyes rove the balconies.

It is his own poem, felt by him. His cadences dominate the attentive hall. War is a foul pit shown in his cupped hand. His arm stretches upward and his hand unfolds as he cries, "La paz! . . . la paz! . . . la paz!"



Hoy, Havana

The five thousand people in the hall stand for him, and cheer thunderously, and the press association man beside me chatters at my ear: "You know who he is, don't you?"

I know who he is: he is Vicente or Enrique or Felipe, for peace and against war. And I know what my helpful colleague is about to tell me: that the poet is or his brother is or his uncle was something or other in the Communist Party in Cuba or Venezuela or Uruguay, as if that were all of any importance to know.

I SUPPOSE that in observing and reporting there is room for personal privilege. I claim mine. I came to Mexico City because some hundreds of people, representing far more than hundreds of other people on our side of the world, were going to talk about peace, which interests me. The personal privilege I claim is not to be excessively impressed by the politics, the nationality, the race or the religion of these people, or even to be more than casually interested in these things.

I can understand that what our great newspapers and news services want to know about these peace congresses that are being held is not whether they are for peace, or what they say or do about peace, but solely whether they can be called or proved "Communist," because that—not the other—is what almost all of our press has come to regard as news. Still, it is fantastic.

It is like reporting a fire solely in terms of the politics of the men who turn out to try to stop the fire, while ignoring the quality of their effort—and, indeed, the fire itself.

I THINK there is a fire. The Dallas **Morning News**, flown 900 miles into Mexico City every night and sold by the ounce, had the story, the day after the closing of the American Continental Congress for Peace, of Maj. Gen. Roger Ramey's briefing of 50 journalists from 14 "free countries" of Europe on the prowess of our improved long-range bombers. General Ramey is commander of the Eighth Air Force, the briefing was at the Carswell Air Force Base, Monday.

"While the general," reported the **News**, "didn't specifically name Russia, he said the giant B-36 bomber had opened a new field for war planning—the short routes over the North Pole. . . ." and quoted the general as saying, "Now we are in a position to put those theories to practical test." The **News** paragraphed this line:

"German reporters loved it."

I THINK there is a fire; and I know, unless my ears fail me, that the main concern declared by the poets, painters, writers, teachers, scientists, labor leaders, jurists, politicos and plain citizens who made up the Peace Congress was lest the fire flame. There was no voice in the Congress **for** war. The resolutions of the meeting were for faith in and use of the United Nations, for cordiality among the nations, and against the arms race and the waste of human life and resources in new battles. . . .

This is what the Congress did. This is altogether admirable. This is what matters, or should matter. Not who cries for peace, but that peace is cried.

The ALP fight is yours

MOBERLY, MO.

In thousands of local points, progressives by ones and twos carry on isolated guerrilla warfare for progressive democracy. The fate of such actions depends upon the success of the party in its areas of strength.

The greatest burden must be borne by the workers and voters of the American Labor Party. They must be made to see that even a Marcantonio cannot win single-handed. A smashing victory by the ALP in New York would bring millions of voters and workers into the ranks of the Progressive Party.

The party in other parts of the country can help in this campaign. The New York papers can be flooded with letters showing the national interest in the ALP campaign. Those progressives who have friends or relatives in the city could take a leaf from the State Dept. in its invasion of the Italian elections, and write letters setting forth the necessity of supporting the ALP. The Progressive Party through the ALP has its greatest opportunity to become a great national party. It must not fail.

Rev. David W. Janes

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Better late than . . .

BRIDGEPORT, CONN.

I don't know how you got my address but the only thing I can say to you is that you should have got it at an earlier date. My first glimpse of the paper made me an immediate subscriber for life.

Albert Pallini

70,000,000 jobs---It can be achieved, if---

By Tabitha Petran

FULL employment in the U.S. today calls for 70,000,000 jobs.

There is no fancy stuff about the figure. It lies behind the statistical curtain which the Truman administration has drawn across the employment crisis. It spells the difference between an expanding economy of abundance and peace and a depression economy of scarcity and war.

FIGURES CAN LIE: Official and unofficial propaganda tries to hide the gravity of the present crisis by comparing total current employment of 59,900,000 to the Roosevelt-Wallace employment target of 60,000,000 jobs.

But 60,000,000 jobs no longer mean full employment. The U.S. working population has grown. By the government's own count, we now have 59,900,000 employed, 3,600,000 unemployed, and 1,400,000 in the armed forces—a total working force of nearly 65,000,000.

It is widely recognized, however, that government statistics underestimate unemployment. Realistically calculated, unemployment is closer to 5,500,000 than to 3,600,000. A minimum full employment goal would therefore be about 67,000,000 jobs.

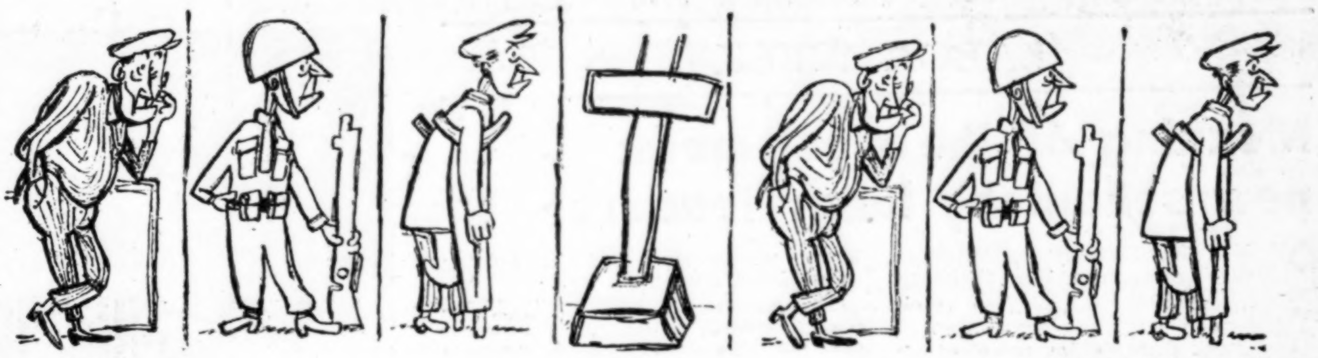
But this isn't the whole story.

MISSING MILLIONS: Government statistics reveal a curious thing. In 1944 the labor force numbered 66,000,000. Since 1944, according to government data, the labor force has increased by 1,000,000 each year. The total labor force should, therefore, really number 70,000,000.

Instead, by present official count, it numbers 65,000,000. What happened to the missing 5,000,000?

The government simply stopped counting them. They are mainly women, older people, Negroes—employed during the war but forced out when their war jobs were finished. They are the "invisibly unemployed"—people who would work if jobs were available but whom the Census Bureau neglects to count.

TIP-OFF TO TROUBLE: The artificial exclusion of these people from the labor force with the war's end was the tip-off of economic trouble to come.



Trybuna Wolnosci, Warsaw

Vicious circle

Unemployment War Post-war * * * * Unemployment War Post-w * * *

An expanding economy would have absorbed them into peacetime production. The fact that they were not absorbed showed that the long-term downward trend of the U.S. economy, which began in 1929, was resumed with the war's end.

Between 1929 and 1932, U.S. production was cut almost by half. In 1939, ten years after the crash, production was still below 1929 levels and some 10,000,000 people, almost 20% of the labor force, were unemployed.

The war provided markets for U.S. production, liquidated mass unemployment which had persisted for a decade, more than doubled industrial production and increased agricultural production by one-third.

SICKNESS LINGERED: But the war did not cure the sickness of U.S. economy. The markets were temporary and artificial. Their prospective loss with the coming of peace so alarmed some U.S. groups that they demanded a state of permanent war. Charles E. Wilson, president of General Electric, for example, called for a permanent war economy as early as January, 1944.

During the war the critical gap between consumption and productive capacity grew enormously. Postwar developments widened it even further. Big business used its huge wartime profits for record-breaking investment in new plant equipment. This, high government expenditures and enormous profits from inflation were the forces behind the postwar boom.

But high prices cut consumption, and the high level of business investment increased productive capacity. So the gap widened. And as early as 1947 the first signs of the flattening out of the boom became apparent. At that point the administration gave the economy a stiff shot in the arm by Marshall Plan-cold-war spending (a move toward the permanent war "solution").

ANOTHER SHOT: Another and bigger cold-war hypodermic was administered in 1948. It didn't work. From November, 1948, to July, 1949, production dropped 17%. New inventory buying and a high construction level increased production in August. The decline has been temporarily arrested, not really reversed. The long-term factors—shrinking consumption and overproduction—make certain that the decline will set in again.

President Truman has chosen to follow the Hoover do-nothing pattern, minimizing the crisis. The August upturn was hailed as "the end of the recession." But the failure to take necessary steps to increase purchasing power—for example, the steel fact-finding report which bars the substantial wage increase needed to boost income—will intensify economic difficulties.

The only way to reverse the downward trend is to provide for an enormous increase in consumption by the nation's workers and consumers.

PROGRAM READY: The Progressive Party program to break monopoly's grip on the nation's resources and Henry Wallace's program for abundance are the necessary starting point. The Wallace program for abundance provides a basis for a $50,000,000,000 increase in production. This would mean an expanding $300,000,000,000 economy and 70,000,000 jobs.

DISASTER COULD COME: Without this program a $200,000,000,000 economy and 10,000,000 unemployed may be nearer than many people think. If production drops 50% in the next few years, as it did between 1929 and 1932, there could be 30,000,000 or more unemployed. The last depression cost us $300,000,000,000 in national income and left us a legacy not yet overcome. This one can cost $800,000,000,000 or more, as one of the President's economic advisors, Leon Keyserling, has warned.

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Next week's GUARDIAN will carry a complete story on the Progressive Party Conference on Jobs and the Economic Crisis taking place in Cleveland Sept. 17-18.

While Truman double talks—

The farmer is going broke!

By C. W. Fowler

PHILADELPHIA

WHILE the Truman Administration continues to fumble the Brannan farm subsidy plan, the farmer is going rapidly and increasingly broke. Like his laid-off brother in the city, the farmer is finding the depression anything but "psychological." It is, in fact, a grim and very present reality.

Figures just put out by the U.S. Dept. of Agriculture tell the story. They show that farm income for the first seven months of 1949 is off 9% over the similar period of 1948. The decline in July of this year from July, 1948, is 22%, indicating a rapidly worsening situation. The same source expects the decline to increase still more.

BUNK: The illusion that high food prices coin money for farmers lingers on, though the facts have long ago disproved it. The war did help move farm commodities that once were "surplus," but that period ended more than a year ago when buying power began to drop.

The illusion of course is carefully fostered by the big commercial press and by the food and commodity monopolies, because it does a good job of covering up for their profiteering. Even granted the farmer did profit by higher consumption at high prices, those profits vanish just as quickly as wages do in an inflation brought on by scrapping of price controls.

MORE BUNK: One accurate measure of farm prosperity—or lack of it—is the amount of farm debt. Last year it went up $426,000,000 to a new high of $5,500,000,000. In Florida, the increase was 85%; in California, already the most heavily mortgaged farm state in the country, 25%.

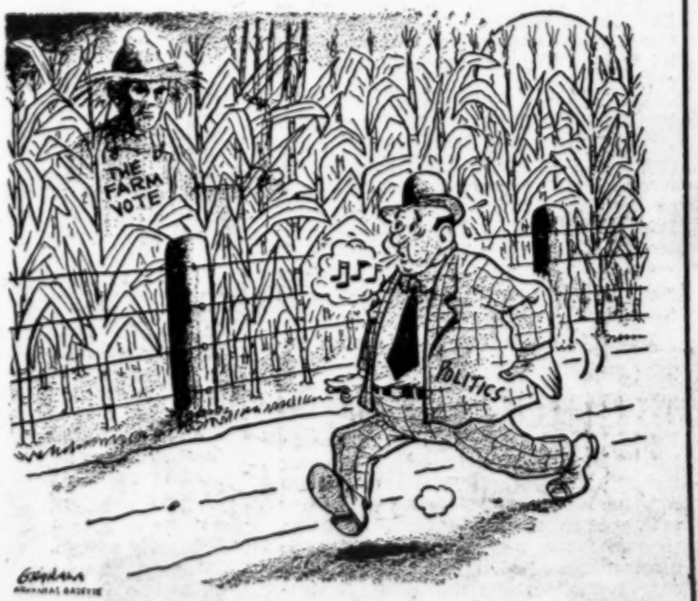
Most of this debt is owed by the small, family-size farmer. Most of the mortgages are owned by banks, insurance companies and other private institutions. This disproves another illusion that the farmer gets oceans of easy credit from the government. Banks and insurance companies aren't easy creditors, and the money they lend isn't cheap.

GOING BROKE: Another measure is savings. The Agriculture Dept. estimates that farm families have only half the savings held by city workers, inadequate as the latter's are. The Federal Reserve Board pointed out early in 1948 that 83% of farmers had no savings account, while only about 40% held U.S. bonds. Of farm savings in existence, 75% were held by only 10% of the nation's farmers.

The farmer is going broke. In turn, his falling income adds to the national picture of oncoming depression. **U.S. News**, which prints straight stuff for its business executive readers, says: "Rural retail sales show that volume is off more than the price decline would warrant." Mail order houses are cutting prices and inundating the farmhouse with catalogs. Up to a year ago, you had to have character references to get a Sears Roebuck catalog. Now they come at the drop of a parity price.

DEEP FREEZE TILL '50: The Brannan plan, which would let food prices seek their own levels and make up the difference in cost of production by subsidies to the farmer, has still not got to first base in Congress. Truman and Secretary of Agriculture Brannan cynically indicate that they are keeping it on ice for the 1950 campaign.

Perhaps the progressives, who signally failed to talk to the farmers in the 1948 campaign, will step in to alert the working farmer to what's happening. Millions of farmers voted for President Truman last year because they were scared by GOP attacks on farm income in the 80th Congress.



Arkansas Gazette

Whistling past the corn field.

ROUNDUP OF THE WEEK'S NEWS

LABOR WEEK

Meaning of the steel mess: new sellout by labor leaders

ON Feb. 24, 1948, Henry Wallace, testifying against the Marshall Plan, warned that the cold war "would require a wage freeze."

Last week C. M. White, president of Republic Steel, hailed what he called "an end to the demands of labor unions in this country for general wage increases in industry."

In effect wages were frozen.

It was accomplished by a deft double-play between government and top CIO leaders. This was how the play worked:

HAIRBREADTH HARRY: In June steel talks began. The contract was to expire July 16. The union demanded a 30c package of increases, part in wages, part in pensions and insurance. The companies were adamant; Steel Workers President Philip Murray was cautious. Though a strike deadline was set, Murray made no preparations and no secret of his reluctance to call a strike.

President Truman came to Murray's rescue with a 60-day truce and a fact-finding board. Murray accepted the arrangement even before the board's members were announced.

As steel goes . . .

The board consisted of Samuel Rosenman, an Administration wheelhorse, Carroll R. Daugherty and David Cole, former members of the War Labor Board which succeeded in holding wages down during the war.

Throughout the hearings U.S. industry waited, repeating: "As steel goes, so goes labor." CIO lieutenants in auto and rubber agreed. Their demands would depend not on the strength of their union but on the decision of the President's board.

NO DOUGH: Last week the recommendations came: No wage raise, insurance plans to be paid by the company but to cost no more than four cents per man per hour; a revision of pension plans in 1950 with a ceiling of six cents an hour.

President Murray leaped to accept the board's terms. He called them "the most constructive thing of its kind in the history of our industry."

Many companies were already paying as much as four cents an hour in insurance plans. Their workers stood to gain nothing but a problematical pension scheme in 1950.

PRECEDENT: The speed with which Murray hurried to knuckle under had a history.

When the previous contract was signed in 1947, Murray left wage raises to the discretion of the companies, dropped demands for a welfare fund, agreed that labor should confer with management about "increasing efficiency" and abandoned the right to strike.

He signed the contract, he said, as a contribution "to our commitments abroad." He meant the cold war.

MURRAY and AIDE McDONALD
H-m-m-m-m

Follow the leader

With those same commitments in mind, the CIO convention in Portland, Ore., last November subordinated wage demands to welfare benefits.

Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers, opened current negotiations with Ford by announcing he would not press for wage raises.

Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Textile Workers, Oil Workers all agreed to forego raises. Rubber Workers President L. S. Buckmaster tried to yield similarly, but was booted out by rank-and-filers who felt the pay issue keenly.

LEFT AXIOM: Only from the left came the demand for a wage raise. Right-wing leaders were forced to pay lip service at least, to the economi axiom that the nation's prosperity depends on the money in the pockets of the men and women who walk on Main St. on a shopping night.

An average 25c-an-hour increase in wages would leave corporations with the same rate of profit on which they thrived before the war. It would prime the economy with $19,000,000,000 and raise production enough to provide jobs for 4,000,000 workers.

The panel, the companies and CIO closed the door on that way out of the recession.

Peace?

Still, it was said, the nation had been spared a steel strike.

Then Benjamin Fairless of U.S. Steel said he would not go along with the "revolutionary" theory that the companies should pay all the insurance costs. He offered to negotiate, but would not say in advance that he would accept any of the board's recommendations save that there should be no wage increase.

As the week ended, Philip Murray was on the spot. Could he afford to strike on the slender issues that remained to him after his surrender? Strike deadline is Sept. 25.

Though official labor gave in o wages, insurgents cried "sellout" last week on convention floors, in union halls and on picket lines.

The largest local in Murray's own United Steelworkers, 1014 in Gary, Ind., wired Murray to hold out for a wage raise.

Chicago dateline

Fare hike kicks up row; Stevenson's on relief run

By Rod Holmgren

CHICAGO

UNDER Progressive Party initiative, Chicagoans last week were going into action against threatened transit fare increases that would make a ride on the "L" cost 20c, a trolley ride 15c. A comparable boost for privately-owned buses was also brewing.

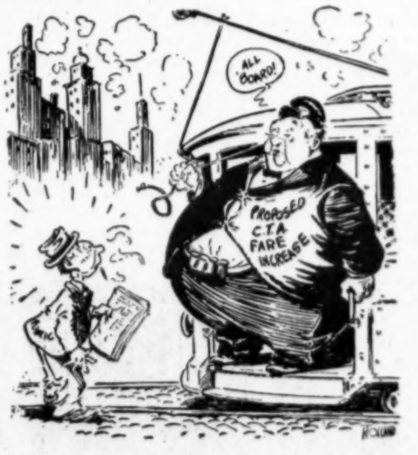
Britton I. Budd, new chairman of the Chicago Transit Authority, said the trolley and "L" increases would be sought to meet wage increases to CTA employes.

POCKET PICKING: The Progressive Party launched a fast-starting campaign a few hours after Budd's announcement. A week-end distribution of leaflets ("CTA Is Picking Your Pockets") brought hundreds of protest phone calls to Budd's office.

The CTA scheduled public hearings for 10 a.m. Sept. 22; the new rates are set to go into effect Oct. 1.

Budd indicated that so many organizations and individuals have asked to testify that the hearings may run several days.

RAILROADING: Sidney Ordower, Progressive Party legislative director for Illinois, protested the short notice for the hearings: "This is an obvious attempt to railroad the fare hikes through; the public should be given a minimum of 60 days to prepare the case against these increases. A thorough investigation will have to be made of CTA books and methods of operation and this cannot be done in a few days."



Tribune, Chicago

"Going to block the entrance?"

James R. Quinn, a CTA Board member, told newsmen there was no alternative to the increases, but the wave of protests rose so quickly that he retreated: "I am open-minded on the question and I am not committed to a fare increase unless it is proved necessary at the public hearings."

Budd proposed the fare increases primarily as a means of paying for a 10c hourly wage increase granted CTA employes, totalling $4,500,000. Progressive Party statisticians estimated the CTA's extra charges against 2,500,000 daily customers would pay off the $4,500,000 in fewer than 75 days.

Uncomfortable governor

GOV. ADLAI STEVENSON last week spent an uncomfortable half-hour trying to justify a slash of 10% in relief budgets and 5% in aid to dependent-children allotments ordered by his Public Aid Commission.

Stevenson was visited by a protesting delegation from the Trade Union Committee for Adequate Relief, the Old Age Assistance Union of Illinois, the Illinois Old Age Pension Union, and the Townsend Clubs of Chicago.

CONTRADICTION: Chairman Mel Krantzler of the Trade Union Committee asked immediate revocation of the relief cut and a special session of the Illinois Assembly to provide more relief funds.

Blustering Stevenson insisted the Public Aid Commission had assured him the reduced budgets left enough for subsistence, but Krantzler pointed to an article by the Commission's executive secretary in January, 1948, saying that any cut in the budgets then in effect would endanger health.

The delegation also referred to a report by the Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund, based on examination of children at Chicago relief clinics, showing 50% have "unsatisfactory nutritional status" and warning of "serious consequences."

FOR DECENCY: Earlier more than 500 persons, half of them oldsters, had picketed a session of the Public Aid Commission.

During all this A. C. Taylor, 6312 Rhodes Av., disabled, mailed his monthly relief check to Mayor Martin H. Kennelly and wrote: "Please have this corrected. I want to be put on a decent American standard of living." Taylor said he had only $8.09 a month for food, and nothing for clothing or medical expenses, after paying his rent.

The Mayor said the case would be investigated.

BENJAMIN FAIRLESS
Revolution!

NEW YORK STATE CIO

Minority report

IN Saratoga, N.Y., the State CIO convened. It buried resolutions on th Hawaiian strike, the 35-hour week, speedup, exclusions under the new minimum wage act. Instead, the delegates heard bitter attacks on "reds," enthusiastic support for the Democratic Party candidates in the November elections.

BIGGER THAN PICKETS: Joseph Kehoe, executive secretary of the American Communications Association, protested against the political hammering on the convention floor. He said:

"The delegate from the Textile Workers Union here said . . . that there are some things bigger than picket lines. The minority rejects that concept and denounces it.

"It is that concept which will degrade the CIO and injure the economic advancement of its membership; it is that concept which will hopelessly divide the CIO and render it impotent before the offensive of the monopolies.

"The minority stands for the opposite concept: that there will alway be political differences among th workers; that there may always be sharp dispute on various questions of policy; that there may always be peo-

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ple voting 'yes' and people voting 'no' upon a given question; that trade unions can exist and can fight the employers because when confronted with questions of organizing the unorganized, collective bargaining negotiations, strikes, they unite together and wield united power, regardless of those differences. . . .

"On behalf of the minority, we call for a return to the age-old slogan of labor: 'An injury to one is an injury to all.' "

MINE-MILL

Lincoln knew

IN Chicago the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers were meeting in convention. Vice President Reid Robinson said the no-wage-raise steel formula would make it tough "not only for steelworkers but for all workers."

Union President John Clark, speaking of the fight for autonomy said: "What Abraham Lincoln said about the nation is true of CIO. It cannot exist half slave and half free."

For their union a demand for wage raises was past debate. Mine-Mill members were battling for them on picket lines in Idaho, New Jersey, Arizona, Illinois and Ohio.

MARITIME UNION

The machine works

IN New York right-wing President Joe Curran tried to hold together his machine at the National Maritime Union's convention. Judging by elections of committee personnel during the first week, he still held power. His opposition is split four ways, though a coalition may form during the convention.

One main Curran objective is a constitutional amendment barring "communists" from membership. The amendment, up this week, will need a two-thirds vote for passage.

UNITED ELECTRICAL

A strike vote

THIS week the Rubber Workers are to meet in Toronto, the United Electrical Workers in Cleveland. UE will see a right-wing effort to unseat the incumbent progressive leadership.

Present UE leaders have been under direct fire from Congress and the Catholic Church, as well as employers. Despite the political barrage and the steel settlement, UE negotiating committees were recommending a strike vote at Westinghouse and General Electric. Singer strikers marched on against the speedup.

AUTO WORKERS

Rapped knuckles

TRACY Doll and Sam Sage are leaders of the Progressive Unity Caucus in the United Auto Workers. A year ago they exposed corruption in the leadership of UAW in New Jersey. Last July the UAW convention under the right-wing administration of Walter Reuther tried to expel them, though neither had been tried according to UAW constitutional procedures.

Doll and Sage won a temporary injuction preventing the International officers from expelling them. Last week Detroit Circuit Judge Arthur Webster upheld that injunction. Only their local could initiate charges under the UAW constitution, the judge ruled. Their local upheld them.

TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION

Break in Chicago

FOR 22 months members of the International Typographical Union have been on strike against five Chicago daily newspapers for wage increases and union security. Last week the publishers offered a 10c raise and exclusive bargaining rights for the union, but reserved the right to hire non-union men.

The union's executive council accepted the terms pending membership approval. Union President Woodruff Randolph told the local that the offer "conforms to ITU laws inasmuch as the union is still hamstrung by the Taft-Hartley Law."

West Coast wire

Negro Baptists back Robeson; He sings in L. A. Sept. 30

By Gene Richards

LOS ANGELES

REPRESENTATIVES of 4,000,000 Negro Baptists convening last week in Los Angeles, where Paul Robeson will sing Sept. 30, roared their official and unanimous protest over the Peekskill outrage.

As the 5,000 deeply moved delegates to the National Baptist Convention acted, Los Angeles sponsors of the Robeson concert in Wrigley Field moved ahead with their plans.

EAGLE HONORED: The Robeson concert will commemorate the 70th anniversary of the **California Eagle**, the nation's second oldest Negro newspaper. Its publisher, Mrs. Charlotta Bass, last week published an open letter to Police Chief William A Worton. Worton's answer was that "law and order" would be scrupulously maintained for the assembly.

Tickets were on sale throughout Southern California. One salesman reported: "Nobody's scared around here. Wrigley Field is in the heart of the Negro community. We don't expect any attacks."

BATTLING BAPTISTS: The Baptist convention cheered a fighting defense of Robeson by the Rev. Sandy F. Ray, chairman of its social service commission. Rev. Ray, who said he had invited Robeson to sing in his Cornerstone Baptist Church in Brooklyn the first Sunday in November, declared:

"It is not Paul Robeson, the 'communist,' whom the Un-American Activities Committee fears. It is Paul Robeson, the champion of the cause of black people in America and Africa, the Paul Robeson who exposes the exploitation of Italy, Great Britain and America in Africa."

HIGHEST PRAISE: The minister said he had rejected the congressional committee's invitation to "blast" Robeson. Said he: "One of the highest compliments that can come to a sincere Negro today is to be branded as subversive."

He accused the Un-American Activities Committee of suppressing his statement that ". . . the greatest threat to our democracy is not from without, but from our failure to extend its benefits to all who live in it."

He suggested the government stop asking "middle-aged Negroes if Negroes will fight another war." Instead, he urged, "Why don't they call the young men who were in fox holes in the last war, the young men who were thrown off buses and put into jail when they came back?"

"Yes! Yes!" shouted the huge audience. . . . "Ask them!"

Other speakers compared the Peekskill attack with "government-incited" violence in Africa, warned that the convention's 4,000,000 vote would be mustered on behalf of civil rights, put both old parties on record that the "black vote is not in the bag."

How right can you get?

EMBARRASSING to Truman stalwarts who would sell the chief as a shining liberal was the rise in California last week of a new right wing within the Democratic Party's right wing.

The group, whose stated objective is to revive the state "loyalty oath" program already condemned by the Democratic Party in California and rejected by the legislature, has mailed its publication, **The Bombshell**, through the state.

Its excuse for demanding reconsideration and enactment of the police state bills futilely plugged by Republican State Sen. Jack B. Tenney was—President Truman.

"If our president, Harry S. Truman, believed we needed a federal loyalty check and ordered one," it pointed out, "why shouldn't California legislators, officials, public servants and teachers welcome one?"

POLITICS

Wallace gives lie to quitting rumor

MONDAY night a capacity crowd attended a $10-a-plate dinner in the Hotel Astor ballroom to salute Henry Wallace on the third anniversary of his stirring address of September, 1946, which first called the turn on the Truman administration's "get tough" war program.

ALL THE WAY—FOR MARC: Wallace used the anniversary occasion to back the campaign of American Labor Party Congressman Vito Marcantonio for Mayor of N.Y. He said:

"I can never look at Vito Marcantonio without the illusion that there is Fiorello standing behind him. The first time I met Fiorello LaGuardia was 22 years ago when he was a Congressman like Vito—and he was just as popular and unpopular in just the same places."

At the time of LaGuardia's death in 1947, Wallace revealed, the two men had come to "complete and utter understanding on all aspects of foreign policy."

Robeson stirs hall

Transcending moment of the Wallace dinner was the first public appearance of Paul Robeson since the stoning of his concert audience at Peekskill on Labor Day eve.

A fighting, optimistic voice in the alarmed atmosphere brought on by the Peekskill riots, Robeson renewed to the Astor audience the conviction he expressed to GUARDIAN readers many months ago, that despite a desperate attempt, fascism will not succeed in America.

"That Sunday was a point of departure in the whole history of these

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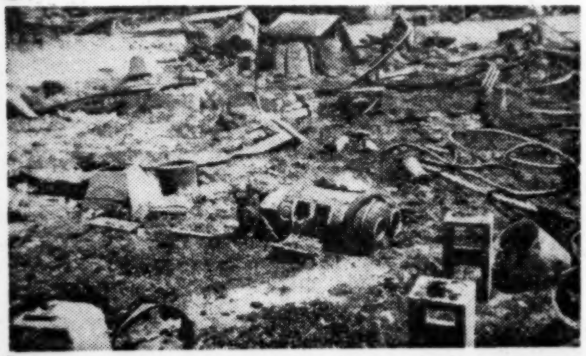
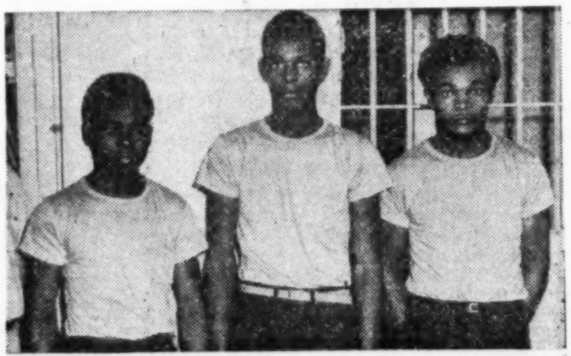


Groveland: Plain and legal lynching



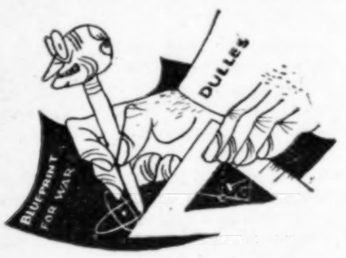
THE stage had long been set. All that was needed was a backwoods white girl's cry of 'rape' to set off the planned terrorism designed to reduce the Negro in Lake County to the hat-in-hand status that makes a white man with nothing feel superior," writes Romona Lowe, special GUARDIAN correspondent who covered the trial of three Negroes at Tavares, Fla. With two NAACP defense attorneys and Ted Poston, Negro reporter for the New York **Post Home News**, she had to flee from a lynch mob in a wild auto chase. "This," she writes, "was the vengeance of hate-ridden Lake County against 'niggers who's uppity.' At left is all that remains of the home of Henry Shepherd, the farmer who was considered too prosperous. The homes of two other Negroes were also burned. At right are the victims of an all-white jury: Charles Greenlee, 16, life imprisonment; Samuel Shepherd, 22, son of Henry, death; and Walter Irvin, 22, death. A fourth victim, Ernest Thomas, was lynched before the trial. The terror, Miss Lowe writes, "was the climax of the post-war years of veiled hints that Verge Maxwell had a white man's job, that Will Brunson's car was 'too good for a nigger,' that old Shepherd had too much land." The NAACP has appealed the convictions; the fight goes on.

(Continued from preceding page)

United States," he declared. "Remember this: that on that afternoon, 25,000 American people stood there, on guard for American democracy!"

NO SENATE CANDIDATE: Next night, Tuesday, the American Labor Party State Committee met at the City Center Casino. In the jampacked hall no hint arose of the bitter primary fight won by Congressman Marcantonio and his city ticket the week before. Instead there was unanimity on all issues but one before the meeting, with only scattered noes against the decision—concentrate on the municipal campaign and not enter a candidate for the one-year senatorial vacancy created by the resignation of Sen. Robert A. Wagner. Senatorial candidates are Gov. Dewey's man, John Foster Dulles, and former Gov. Herbert H. Lehman, Dem.-Lib.

CHOICE: Calling Dulles the "architect," in collaboration with President Truman, of a "policy of war and empire," the ALP resolution said it was "tragic indeed that Mr. Lehman supinely endorses this Truman-Dulles policy."



The committee decision left the way open for ALP members, if they chose, to throw their votes behind Lehman to down Dulles and rebuke anti-Semitic attacks such as have attended previous Lehman campaigns.

Henry Wallace, rumor's nominee for senator on the ALP line, announced through Congressman Marcantonio the previous Sunday that he was not a candidate.

The press and Wallace

Day after the ALP meeting, the N.Y. press speculated a-plenty on Wallace's failure to emerge as a senatorial candidate. N.Y. **Post** broke out 96-point type for a wishful frontpage headline: WALLACE IS QUITTING POLITICS. The story credited itself to "an intimate and unimpeachably loyal associate who discussed politics with him frequently."

WALLACE'S REPLY: Before the afternoon was out, Wallace had replied:

"I understand that a New York newspaper reporter has announced my political demise.

"In election years this kind of rumormongering is to be expected, particularly in view of the important N.Y.C. campaign in which the American Labor Party is sharply challeging the two old parties.

"The press has consistently tried to write us off, to divide us, and to destroy us—all without success. This latest effort will fail like all the others.

"I don't think that either my friends or my enemies will be misled by rumors of this kind. They know that I have never run away from a good fight. The Progressive Party stands for the principles to which I have devoted my life, and is today more important than ever.

"I am staying in this one all the way."

To underscore his statement, Wallace announced that he would speak next month in New Jersey for James Imbrie, Progressive Party candidate for governor.

Pax Romana

The old-line parties, in traditional campaign style, curried favor on all sides. When Cardinal Spellman recently assailed Eleanor Roosevelt in a controversy over the Barden Bill for federal aid to schools, Lehman had come to her defense, incurring the Cardinal's wrath. Last week, prompted by Mayor O'Dwyer, he voiced his opposition to the Barden Bill, which would exclude parochial schools from the benefits of federal aid.

Dulles said he opposed federal aid to any school, public or private.

DETROIT

Labor stays home

TWO Progressive Party-backed candidates for Detroit's Common Council weathered a conservative landslide in the city's primaries last Tuesday. They will stand for election in November with 16 other candidates for the nine-man council.

Albert Cobo, who has served as City Treasurer for 14 years, ran first in the primary for Mayor with 169,674 votes.

George Edwards, backed by the CIO and Americans for Democratic Action, ran second with 113,262 votes. He will contest the election with Cobo in November; but he ran so poorly that he is given only an off-chance to win. Cobo, supported by the Chamber of Commerce, got 40% of the total vote.

Eliminated were incumbent Eugene I. Van Antwerp (52,494) and Richard Frankensteen (16,669), a former vice-president of the United Auto Workers who sought labor support.

Mort Furay, head of the local CIO United Public Workers, waged a vigorous campaign for Mayor with progressive backing, but ran far down in the field of eleven candidates with 4,404 votes.

OKAY FOR WITCHHUNT: The same landslide proportions enacted into law a charter amendment setting up a five-man Loyalty Commission to screen all city employes.

Elimination of Police Commissioner Harry Toy, the city's most rabid witch-hunter, seems certain as one happy result of the primary. Neither candidate for Mayor aims to keep him.

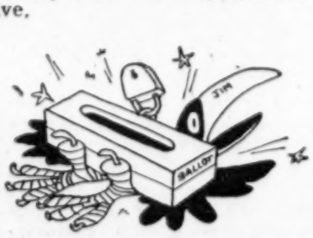
The vote was light in Negro and working class precincts, heavy in silk stocking districts, bearing out the pattern set in the Pennsylvania congressional election.

The Progressive candidates for the Common Council are Rev. Charles A. Hill, Negro leader and champion of civil rights, and Stanley Novak, former State Senator and spokesman for large sections of Detroit's foreign-born population.

GEORGIA

The Negroes vote

FOR the first time in recent history Negroes voted last week in Democratic primaries in Atlanta, Ga. Results showed that the Negro vote, in a four-way race for mayor, had been decisive.



The Democratic primaries—which actually elect—had been opened to Negroes by federal court rulings. Of 94,744 qualified voters, 22,092 were Negroes.

Mayor William B. Hartsfield was renominated by a 102-vote majority over his nearest rival. But in predominantly Negro precincts his lead ranged up to six to one.

WOMEN STAND UP: Added spark was provided by a two-day conference of 150 white and Negro churchwomen from 12 southern states sponsored by the Southern Regional Conference in cooperation with church groups and the YWCA. The ladies took a forthright stand for equal justice and demanded safeguards to make voting "legally and actually safe for all." White women voted to accompany their Negro domestics to registration boards and polls to protect their rights.

County Democratic committees were warned that the churchwomen would keep an eye on them.

The Melish case

Protestant c nv issue of though

By Guy Emery Shipler

THE congregation of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, has appealed the decision of the Kings County Supreme Court sustaining the judgment of Bishop DeWolfe dissolving the pastoral relation between Dr. John Howard Melish and the church. The Appellate Division will hear the case in its November term.

When the triennial General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church meets in San Francisco next week, the "Melish Case" will be on the agenda. In spite of legalism, the issue is clear: thought control and invaded the church.

CRIME IS PEACE: It is a familiar picture—guilt by association, dangerous social ideas, working with the wrong people, subversive work for peace, listing by the Attorney General, denial of the rights of the many to favor the frightened opinion of the few.

One of the honored rectors in church life has been forcibly removed from a congregation that has voted overwhelmingly for his retention, because he refused to discharge his son and associate of ten years' standing. No heresy, no immorality, no neglect of duty—the traditional grounds in the church for removal—are involved. Bishop DeWolfe attested on the witness stand to the sincerity and integrity of both father and son. The son's sole crime: he advocated a policy of seeking peace with Russia on the basis of justice and understanding.

DEADLY LIST: An incredible document was penned by the bishop to defend his action. Mr. Melish, it said, associated with "atheists, communists, agitators of world revolution, totalitarianism and almost every article which denies the Christian doctrine of man."

The accusation said Mr. Melish chaired a Red Army dinner of the Flatbush Russian War Relief Committee in 1946. It does not mention that three members of that committee were Hunter L. Delatour, Col. Jackson A. Dykman and Edward L. Richards—all members of the Standing Committee of the Long Island Diocese which condemned both the Melishes. In the Supreme Court Mr. Melish testified that Bishop DeWolfe himself phoned him at Lake George in the midst of his summer vacation and asked him to come to the city to represent the bishop at a meeting of Russian War Relief.

NO REST: The congregation is now on the warpath. It has won a majority of the places on the vestry. It intends to put the facts in the hands of every deputy to the General Convention. It is determined not to rest until the parochial relation is restored.

The Melish Case is the church sector in the total civil liberties fight for the preservation of traditional American democracy. Unless these two ministers are sustained, a clergyman may preach peace but work for it only at his peril, under the present Canons as interpreted by Bishop DeWolfe and Judge Steinbrink. Unless the Canons are altered, any rector may, with the consent of a prejudiced or pressured bishop, be removed by a

WASHINGTON

SUPREME COURT

Minton is named to Rutledge seat

OF U.S. Supreme Court Justices Frank Murphy and Wiley Rutledge, the St. Louis **Post-Dispatch** said: "Neither ever thought that the black ink of the law books had a higher value than the red blood of men and women." Both are dead. Tom Clark and Sherman Minton are President Truman's choices to succeed them.

Murphy's worth as a humanitarian and liberal became clear to many under the shock of the Clark appointment. Rutledge too assumed greater stature after his death, though the appointment of Minton was not felt as great a shock as Clark's.

THE NEW MAN: Sherman Minton went to the Senate from Indiana in the 1930's, generally supported the New Deal, became a Roosevelt White House assistant, then a federal appellate judge in Chicago.

WILEY B. RUTLEDGE
Blood is thicker than law

Labor men in Washington reacted thus to Minton's new promotion. "Not too good, not too bad."

On the good side, he overruled a lower court injunction against Chicago's union printers in 1948; more recently he upheld conviction of the Great Atlantic & Pacific Stores for "devious manipulation" in restraining food trade.

On the bad side, he headed the U.S. board which paved the way for contempt verdicts against the United Mine Workers and John L. Lewis.

On one score Truman ran t[illegible] to form: Senator Minton was an old pal who had occupied the desk next to Senator Truman.

CONGRESS WEEK

Trade and junkets

FOR a time it seemed that debate on the Reciprocal Trade Act might continue indefinitely. Sen. George W. Malone (R-Nev.) held the floor five and a half hours in support of the restrictive "peril point" amendment, though only two other Senators stayed to listen.

The vote came on Thursday afternoon. It extended the act until 1951 without restriction. The vote was 62-19, with half the Republicans voting with the Democrats on the final ballot, after a close vote on the "peril point" issue.

Full Presidential power to negotiate trade agreements was first esta[illegible]hed in early New Deal days; it was [illegible]bed by the 80th Congress and has been a prime Republican target since.

Under the "peril point" clause the Federal Tariff Commission could set a level below which the President could

ave[illegible]ion faces ht control

vestry that dislikes his opinions or actions.

THE RECORD: The real crime of the Melishes is that they acted as well as spoke for peace. Young Mr. Melish went to Yugoslavia and told the truth about the Nazi collaborator, Archbishop Stepinac. For this he was pilloried in the Catholic press, and the report on "Religion in Yugoslavia" which he signed with six other Protestant clergymen and two laymen was used by the vestry as evidence against him. They protested the film "The Iron Curtain" and attracted the wrath of the movie industry and those who would convert it to war propaganda. They supported Henry Wallace.

The fight of the congregation in behalf of its ministers, and the support of many leading bishops and clergymen, is an encouraging sign that the church is not spineless. It has its part to play in the preservation of the democratic spirit in our basic American institutions. The Melish Case has not ended. It has only begun.

MELISH: FATHER and SON

Is peace a crime?

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OTHER MATTERS: When the 56th General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church meets in San Francisco's Civic Auditorium Sept. 26 (through Oct. 7), among the subjects discussed, in addition to a possible change in Canon 46 which affects the Melishes' status with their bishop, will be the dissatisfaction of the clergy with the small pensions allowed upon retirement.

Since communicants have doubled since 1900 and the number of clergy is about the same, there may be adoption of methods to increase the number of candidates for the ministry. The Canon which deals with marriage and divorce will be discussed, as well as an increased budget to $5,552,095 for 1950 from $3,650,000 for 1949.

CHECKS AND BALANCE: The Triennial is set up much like the U.S. government, with an upper and lower house. The House of Bishops has a total of 160 members. The House of Deputies, divided equally between clergymen and laymen, comprise 648 members, elected by diocesan conventions. Before legislation is passed, a concurrence of all three orders is necessary. Laymen can kill legislation the bishops favor unanimously.

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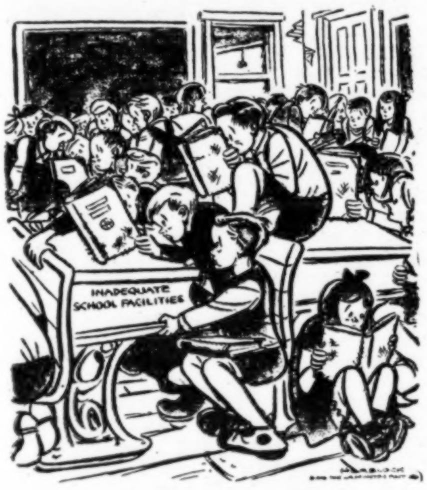
A booklet, "The Melish Case—Challenge to the Church," detailing the facts and issues, can be obtained by writing to Mrs. Ella P. Rose, 161 Henry St., Brooklyn 2, N. Y. Cost is 25c.

EDUCATION

School hysteria

UNITED STATES children were trooping back to school. Most classrooms were pitifully overcrowded and understaffed. Some New York schools had four-hour days and staggered sessions. Children were doubling up at desks or standing.



Educational cramming.

But New York schools had another problem. Under the recently enacted Feinberg Law, written reports concerning the loyalty of every teacher and other employe must be made every year. Every supervisor must check on the teachers under him and the superivsor is checked in turn.

TEMPORARY VICTORY: Efforts to enforce the law met a temporary setback last week when the Communist Party obtained an injunction to prevent the Board of Regents from publishing its list of "subversive" organizations. Under the law membership in such organization means automatic dismissal.

A hearing called by the New York City Board of Education to work out "procedures," was boycotted by four leading civic organizations, including the United Parents Assn. They said the law was "contrary to American ideals and traditions." The Teachers Union (CIO) filed suit in the State Supreme Court to challenge the law.

The conservative AFL Teachers Guild came out against the law. At the hearing itself, most teachers spoke against it.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

PEEKSKILL

Dewey pins blame, then orders probe

TROUBLED Peekskill, N.Y., tried to stem the inroads of hate and dissension left by the riots against the Paul Robeson concerts. Robeson himself prepared to raise his voice across the nation.

Peekskill citizens contended with these aftermaths: open anti-semitism; boycott threats against "communist" merchants; terror aimed at New York summer residents. (A Jewish veteran said: "What made me saddest was a little girl, no more than six, who looked at me and lisped, 'Are you a Jew commie?' ") Community leaders tried to calm the boiling feelings.

"TEA PARTY": A Peekskill **Star** editorial hailed the riots as a "Boston Tea Party" which should focus government attention on "communism, the No. 1 enemy." People's Artists, Robeson sponsors, sent to Gov. Dewey for investigation a threatening letter received from the Ku Klux Klan, which Dewey said didn't exist in New York. (See McManus's **Report to Readers, p. 11**).

Dewey's investigation

Dewey himself emerged from behind a mounting pile of citizens' protests on the handling of the riots to denounce the concert-goers for "provoking" violence; absolve police and officials of

(Continued on following page)

not reduce tariffs unless he convinced Congress that he should do so.

Junkets

The House was still in recess until Sept. 21. Many Representatives and some Senators were on their annual European junkets at taxpayers' expense.

Among them was Sen. Pat McCarran (D-Nev.), who sailed on the Queen Mary for a visit with Generalissimo Francisco Franco, with whom he intended to discuss U.S. recognition and a possible loan. President Truman said at his press conference that McCarran was on his own. In addition, McCarran planned to visit France, Portugal, Italy, Germany, Switzerland and Belgium. To ship reporters he said: "Communism is worse than fascism." Six other Congressmen sailed on the Queen Mary.

The Administration's bill to arm Atlantic Pact nations was scheduled to reach the Senate floor for debate on Monday.

LIVING COSTS

RENT DECONTROL

Tenants r'ar up

LANDLORDS in Long Beach, Calif. posted "For Rent" signs all over town, reported 2,284 vacancies and petitioned for decontrol. A City Council survey forced by the Independent Progressive Party revealed that the "vacancies" included homes already occupied, houses for sale only, filling stations and vacant lots.

NO MORE VOLUNTEERS: In New York City, the "Federal Landlords Committee, Inc." asked for a 15% general rent hike to equal the 15% "voluntary" increase to which many tenants have already agreed.

At a public hearing on rents, chief pleader for the landlords was Elias H. Jacobs. Outside, his tenants carried picket signs demanding his arrest for violations of sanitary, building and rent regulations.

When Jacobs presented the Rent Advisory Board with a petition signed by "many thousands of citizens" asking for a 15% rent rise, the hearing turned into an uproar. A recess had to be called before he could continue.

The hearing went on for 11 hours, until after midnight.

UN Assembly opens

Some little cold wars join big one at 4th session

By Marcelle Hitschmann

LAKE SUCCESS

THE United Nations General Assembly, entering its fourth session this week, now has a style of its own: verbose debates, then an eruption, tense voting, and returning calm.

The East-West split has become a fixed part of the picture. Like chronic arthritis, it cripples some agencies but does not paralyze the Assembly, which always manages to start some good projects—and some bad ones.

This session differs from previous ones. Many little cold wars have surrounded the big one, reducing the chances of a centralized explosion. There is Yugoslavia vs. Cominform, Britain vs. Dollar, France vs. Britain (involving France's distaste for British economic planing, a conflict preventing creation of a solid West European bloc).

U.S. vs. U.S.: Finally, there is U.S. policy vs. U.S. policy—the outright cold war advocates against the moderates. America could pursue the search for a way to get along with the Soviet Union, as begun in the Jessup-Malik talks last February. But although Philip Jessup's star is rising, Washington's cold war supporters will prevail with a tough policy.

Here Washington is supporting London, which hopes to regain its Balkan foothold lost during the war. The British believe they can do it by encouraging Balkan splits and maintaining the tough-with-Russia line.

The BBC is not sending its usual French commentator to cover the Assembly for its French audiences; instead it is sending a Hungarian commentator.

There is a shift from political to economic preoccupation everywhere. Economic aid to underdeveloped areas will be discussed in the Assembly together with leftover political issues.

DISPUTES A-PLENTY: Some of the more controversial items on the agenda include admission of new members; Greece; rights and freedoms in Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania; Palestine; the Italian colonies; Korea.

Albania, one of the disputed candidates for membership, may become a storm center. The UN Balkan Committee has convicted Albania, together with Bulgaria and to a lesser extent Yugoslavia, of aiding the Greek guerrillas. Royalist Greece has threatened to invade Albania in "self-defense."

POLICY THAT FITS: A western move is being considered to "internationalize" Albania. Such a "peace preservation plan," which would isolate Albania from other Cominform nations, would fit perfectly into U.S. and British policies.

Recently Italian spokesmen in Washington have hinted that they could supply "experts" on Albania, if needed—probably inglorious remnants of Mussolini's agents in that country. "Free Albanians" headed by Midhat Frasheri are settling in the U.S., ready to lend a hand.

Australia has added Rumania to the list of controversies, proposing to extend to it the condemnations of Hungary and Bulgaria voted last spring on the "human rights" issue (when the Mindszenty case was up). The U.S. and Britain will support the move, citing the guarantees of freedom in the peace treaties.

STIR UP TROUBLE: Since none of the countries accused is a UN member, little can be done to enforce any decisions. But a subsequent rejection of their membership applications might stir up internal dissatisfaction, which the West would appreciate. (This is where the BBC Hungarian commentator comes in.)

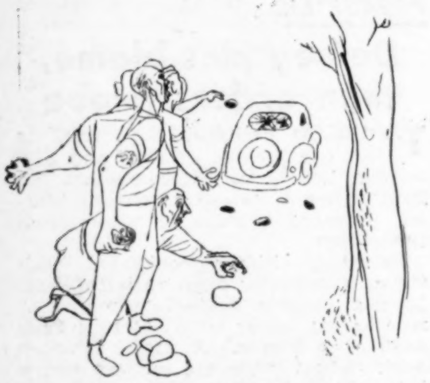
When the Assembly tackles the Middle East, it will find Israel almost alone in opposing the internationalization of Jerusalem. The U.S. will face an uncomfortable internal problem: the State Dept. favors the plan, but November elections will make it difficult to let Israel down.

ROLE OF THE "NEUTRALS": Finally, a movement begun in the last Assembly session is expected to solidify into a policy: the "neutrals" of Asia and Africa, anti-imperialist by historical necessity, allied sometimes with the Slavic nations and sometimes with the Latins, will make real efforts to block Big Power rule and seize the balance of power.

(Continued from preceding page)

blame; condemn Robeson's security guards (though Dewey said they "behaved with discipline and committed no assaults") and to request District Attorney Fanelli to conduct a grand jury inquiry to fix the blame.

ROBESON TO WEST: Chicago, meanwhile, prepared for Robeson appearances Sept. 23 to 25. Chicago's **Daily News** embarked on a thinly disguised campaign to whip up another Peekskill. "Concerts Already Protested by Vets," said its first headline. (See Gene Richards, page 5, for report on Robeson's coming West Coast visit.)



Drawing by Anton Refregier

THE COMMUNIST TRIAL

No. 5 to jail

CARL WINTER, state chairman of the Communist Party of Michigan and a member of the party's national committee, was on the witness stand at the trial in Foley Square. He is a defendant. The question concerned the presence of Alfred Wagenknecht, Winter's father-in-law, at a Party convention.

Winter said: "I must respectfully decline to answer. . . . In the context of the prosecutions pending for association in Communist gatherings, the naming of persons participating in that convention could lay them and me open to further prosecution. Furthermore, I must protest against the barbarity of this question which invades the family relationship, having no bearing or relation to the case here."

Judge Medina withdrew for consultation, returned and said: "I now adjudge you guilty of a wilful and deliberate contempt. . . . Thirty days."

Winter is the fifth defendant sentenced to jail during the trial.

WHERE'S J. PARNELL?

No stomach for law

J. PARNELL THOMAS, once the arch-inquisitor of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, is still on "convalescent leave" from the House and from a court trial. Last Nov. 8 he was indicted for extorting kickbacks from his employees and padding his payroll at public expense. His trial has been postponed three times on grounds of a stomach complaint. It is presently set for Nov. 7.

Until a month ago his staff insisted he was in a hospital. After Drew Pearson reported seeing him driving his own car his office said he was convalescing at his New Jersey home.

GUARDIAN's John B. Stone asked Thomas' attorney, William H. Collins, whether Thomas would try for another postponement. "I can't say," said Collins. "I haven't seen him since the first week in August when he was here for another medical checkup. He seemed very emaciated then."

No weak stomach here

Alger Hiss, though, will stand trial for the second time Oct. 10 on a perjury charge growing out of testimony by **Time** ex-editor Whittaker Chambers, who himself has confessed to perjury. Hiss' first trial ended last July 8 with a hung jury.

THE CIROTTA CASE.

Student indicted

LAST March 18, Raymond J. Cirotta, 21 years old and an active progressive on the Dartmouth campus, was beaten to death by eight other students. The students had been drinking at a nearby bar which, GUARDIAN was told, was a center of anti-red sentiment.

Since then one of Cirotta's assailants, Thomas A. Doxsee, 20, declined to contend a charge of second-degree manslaughter. He was fined $500 and given a suspended sentence of a year and a day.

Last week a grand jury, after hearing 19 witnesses, indicted another student, William C. Felton, 21, on charges of first-degree manslaughter.

THE WORLD

THE BRITISH CRISIS

Cripps gets dollars but pays dearly

THE Anglo-U.S.-Canadian financial talks ended in Washington on a note of public optimism. Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Stafford Cripps, said with emphatic cheerfulness that the program adopted by the powers would end Britain's immediate dollar drain.

But European experts at Geneva were reported by the New York **Times** to believe Cripps' confidence "must be due either to some agreement not mentioned in the communiqué or to something that had not happened when the communiqué was issued."

The program provided that U.S. will permit Britain freer use of Marshall Plan dollars; waive Article 9 of the U.S. loan agreement so that Britain may discriminate against U.S. imports; review its stockpiling program with the idea of buying more British raw materials; and let natural rubber compete with synthetic in U.S. markets. Canada offered to increase its stockpile purchases of tin and rubber.

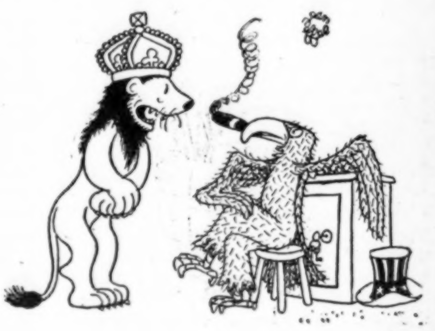
A WEE DROP: At best these steps could furnish only a drop in the bucket of the British dollar deficit. As the French commented acidly, a meeting of top-level experts from three countries was hardly necessary to draft such a program.

The **Wall St. Journal** called it "diplomatic circumlocution and obscurity at its worst." In London, politicians worried about the price Britain would have to pay for even these mild palliatives.

Go and devaluate!

They weren't long in doubt. Eugene Black, president of the World Bank, bluntly told the opening meeting of the International Monetary Fund that dollar-deficit nations must devalue their currencies and cut governmental costs, including social welfare programs. The Fund's Executive Report made the same point more politely.

The well-informed **Journal of Commerce** reported that Secretary of the Treasury Snyder told a closed meeting of the Fund's Board of Governors that the U.S. considers devaluation necessary if the dollar crisis is to be whipped. Cripps, long publicly opposed to devaluation, sat silent.



Action, Paris

"A socialist? I? What an exaggeration!" "Well, let us call it a 'top-heavy Laborite' . . ."

AN EXPENSIVE DROP: Devaluati will sharply reduce the real wages Britain's workers by raising the price of food and raw material imports. But for the U.S. it means lower prices for raw materials bought in the sterling area, and it will permit U.S. capital to buy into British and empire holdings at cut-rate prices.

Devaluation is closely linked to the point in the three-power program which promises heavier U.S. investment in the sterling area. As the price for this "concession," U.S. capital is demanding that sterling countries lif exchange restrictions which now ha per the removal of profits.

Britain's course

That Britain will capitulate to thes terms sooner or later seems certain. Cripps again publicly assured Washington that he will inaugurate further austerity measures. The Trades Union Congress at Bridlington accepted the

(Continued on following page)

The lowdown on Argentina

Nation's heading for a bust with an assist from Evita

Special to the GUARDIAN

BUENOS AIRES

WHEN Evita Peron, the nifty blonde first lady of Argentina, visited Spain two years ago, she encountered jeering crowds wherever she went. At one Madrid intersection people shouted obscenities, insinuating that she had once been associated with the world's oldest profession.

Evita became livid. She turned to her escort and demanded to be taken to her hotel. The Franco aide tried to console her. "Why don't you take all this philosophically?" he pleaded. "Take my case. I've been retired from the army for years, but the people still call me general."

BARB AT PERON, TOO: In telling the story, the salty-humored "portenos" of Buenos Aires are aiming their barb not only at Evita, but also at their fat-cheeked President, Juan D. Peron. "Whether our chief executive is known as President or by his military titles," they tell the foreigner, "he still remains an opportunist."

For nearly three years Peron has been riding out mounting difficulties by trying to ingratiate himself with every group except the left. Only his slogans were taken from the left. Otherwise he did his utmost to reduce it to impotence, but without outlawing it. Through this maneuver he was able to pretend that his regime was democratic.

It is true that Communists and other opposition groups have a press. But their messages must be written between the lines. Otherwise, the works: Peronista hoodlums invade their offices, wreck the presses and destroy the newsprint while the police look the other way.

FOR THE "SHIRTLESS": Officially Peron's regime espouses the cause of the working people, known as the **descamisados,** or "shirtless ones." In practice, however, Peron takes his advice from the extreme right, whose numbers are increasing at the Casa Rosada, Argentina's White House.

Latest addition to this group is Hipolito Jesus Paz, a young unknown whom Peron made Foreign Minister after kicking out popular Juan Bramuglia, a UN enthusiast. Hipolito reflects Peron's sharp swing to the right; he favors hurried and unbalanced industrialization to get set for another war, where Bramuglia had favored gradual mechanization of the farm economy.

EVITA PERON and FRIEND

Carlo Sforza's her type

To get powerful sanction for his course, Peron elevated the Catholic Church to a position it has not enjoyed since the middle of the last century. But the army is Peron's real master. Nothing is too good or too expensive for it. Its brass rides high and has first call on the best of everything.

In the final analysis, however, it is the "shirtless ones" that Peron must reckon with. The workers were behind him while he was able to carry out his promises of better pay, longer vacations and more benefits generally. Lately, however, prices have begun to outstrip earnings. Shortages are becoming acute, and a rash of strikes is breaking out. Peron has used up his big treasury on propaganda and purchases for the army.

JOBS DWINDLING: The resulting loss of dollar reserves makes it difficult to buy parts for worn-out machinery. Production has dropped nearly 40% and workers are losing their jobs.

Peron's five-year plan, which was to have dotted the pampas with "TVA's," was a dud. Nothing has been heard of it in the last year. Peron's insistence on sky-high prices for food products in a hungry world boomeranged. Argentine wheat remained unsold and is likely to pile up as grain stocks increase in Canada, Russia and the United States.

HEADED FOR A BUST: As things look now, Argentina is headed for a bust, possibly late this year, maybe next spring.

Peron is not yet threatened by revolution. People with full stomachs don't easily take to arms, and Argentines are among the best-fed people in the world. It is almost patriotic to eat steak in Argentina.

Beef-on-the-hoof may keep Peron in power for a while.

(Continued from preceding page)

government policy of a wage freeze without any corresponding check on profits. The **Journal of Commerce** said devaluation would come Nov. 1, an "ideal time," since it would "avoid implications of undue U.S. pressure."

BORING WITH DOLLARS: But devaluation is not the only price demanded of Britain. In Washington, Secretary of State Acheson and Foreign Secretary Bevin undertook to review the political situation around the world. They reported a "community of views."

It was reported that they talked of plans to expand U.S. investment in the Middle East and Southeast Asia and to form an anti-communist front against the new China.

[illegible]GOSLAVIA-COMINFORM

Thrusts and busts

ANOTHER week's exchanges in the Tito-Cominform controversy produced the following:

- Hungary indicted an army commander and seven others on charges of plotting a revolt with hope of aid from Marshal Tito. "American imperialism" was called a party to the plot. Czechoslovak communists said the alleged Hungarian plot was designed to open a Tito-inspired subversion drive in all of eastern Europe. Yugoslavia called the forthcoming Hungarian trial a "hoax."
- Radio Moscow, quoting Yugoslav [illegible]s, said guerrilla units were fighting Tito's forces in Slovenia.

YUGOSLAVIA

- Thousands of anti-Tito leaflets were slipped under doors and into mailboxes in downtown Belgrade.
- Tito, speaking to miners, termed Yugoslavia an "invincible fortress," said it is building socialism in its own [illegible] and that "we must clear this matter up with the Russians."
- Yugoslav Politburo member Mosha Pijade publicly challenged the Soviet Union to bring the Albanian issue before the UN. (Russia has charged that Greece and Yugoslavia threaten Albania's independence.)
- Amid the controversy, American sculptor Jo Davidson arrived in Belgrade. Queried by phone, he told a New York newspaper he would do a bust of Tito, then shouted: "SO WHAT?"

GERMANY

President Heuss

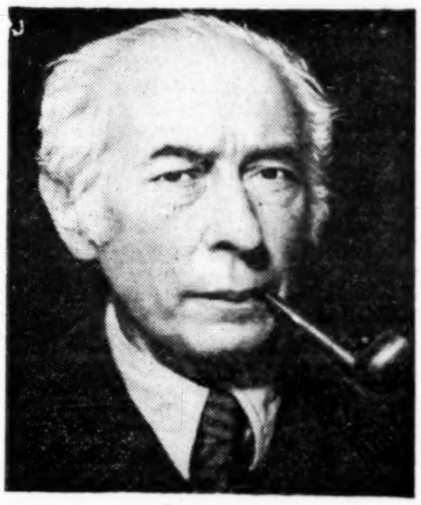
WESTERN Allied High Commissioners were perched in a hotel 2,000 feet above the Rhine city of Bonn. Germans called the lofty headquarters the Eagles' Nest, after Hitler's Berchtesgaden retreat.

In Bonn itself, where the new German parliament was in session, log-rolling and horse-trading took over. The dominant right-wing parties were fighting for the Presidency of the West German republic, a ward of the men in the Eagle's Nest. Dr. Theodor Heuss (pronounced Hoyss) of the Free Democrats, won.

WINDOW DRESSING: GUARDIAN's executive editor James Aronson, who served in the Allied Military Government of Germany as a press officer, recalled:

"Heuss's economic philosophy is about as liberal as Herbert Hoover's. His party voted in the Reichstag for the act which gave Hitler his power. But the Nazis didn't trust him and he retired to his scholar's den. However, he did write for the **Frankfurter Zeitung**, the formerly liberal paper which Hitler kept as a showpiece. It was all fake. The **Zeitung** was controlled by Hitler's press gauleiters.

"The fact that Heuss is the choice for president of Konrad Adenauer (Christian Democratic Party) should dispel any notion of his liberalism. AMG in 1945 discarded Adenauer as a fox-like opportunist who was anybody's boy for the right price. Adenauer is no fool; Heuss will be the same kind of liberal window-dressing for the West German State that the **Frankfurter Zeitung** was for the Nazi State."



THEODOR HEUSS
His chancellor's choice

On Thursday Adenauer's appointment as Reichschancellor was confirmed by a one-vote majority in the Parliament. He made it plain in his party organ that the Presidency served only to lend dignity to the Chancellor's decisions.

YOUTH CONGRESS

Blossoms of peace

INTO the Hungarian Parliament in Budapest walked a group of Chinese carrying flowers. There were 63 gladiolas, one for each delegation to the World Federation of Democratic Youth assembled there for its congress. Each flower was carried in its own vase, a high-explosive shell captured from Chiang Kai-shek's army and marked: "Made in U.S.A." The 35-member delegation from the U.S. accepted the gift, reported GUARDIAN's William Wolf.

THEY KNOW ABOUT TRENTON: Before adjourning the delegations of young people agreed on resolutions which defined the slogans on their blue and white banners. In five languages—English, French, Russian, Spanish and Hungarian—these said: "Youth unite! Forward For Lasting Peace, Democracy, the National Independence of Peoples and a Better Life."

The Congress cheered a message from Bessie Mitchell, sister of one of the Trenton Six and tireless campaigner for their freedom. Wolf said that all Budapest knew about the Trenton Six. The GUARDIAN is on Budapest newsstands.

Echoes of peace

- Peace slogans were echoed in Mexico City as the Continental Congress for Peace wound up its deliberations.
- The slogans were repeated on petitions that circulated all through France. Several million signatures were expected on the petition for peace which is to be presented in Paris on "International Peace Day," Oct. 2.
- A British Peace Committee, a continuation group which stemmed from the World Peace Conference in Paris, prepared for a London session in Paris, to work out a practical policy for the British peace movement.
- In Chicago on Oct. 1 trade unionists were to meet for a Labor Peace Conference.

Max Werner

French Right wants Germany to help "police" Europe

A NEW international crisis is brewing around West Germany. The Republic of Bonn may have a president and a chancellor, but Adenauer Germany cannot and will not be stabilized. This stillborn state will ask for a permanent American dole, will upset and corrupt French politics and will head for cut-throat competition with Britain.

A striking illustration of Dr. Konrad Adenauer's course was given by a recent French-German exchange of views on German rearmament. The editor of the press service of the Christian Democratic Union, Adenauer's party, declared that a police force is not enough for Western Germany. He said the state will need to participate in the coming West European Army with a share in ratio to the size of the German population.

This is no less than a return to the famous principle of Germany's equal right in rearmament with which Hitler started his military policy. Were this basis recognized, a new German Army would be stronger than the French Army.

FRENCH AGREES: That the new German nationalism asks for rearmament is not at all surprising. It is amazing, however, that in the French-German dialogue which followed, the French answer was yes.

The answer appeared in the organ of the French Ministry of Defense, **Revue de Defense Nationale.** Its author is Robert d'Harcourt, leading French expert on Germany, who is close to Foreign Minister Schuman's Catholic Party. Count d'Harcourt is not an adventurer. Member of the French Academy, he is among the intellectual and political leaders of solid French conservatism.

The interplay of French and German conservatism of the 1930's is being repeated as if the French defeat and World War II did not happen. Count d'Harcourt repeats the German arguments, only with more wit and eloquence: "When the West Germans enter the front of the Western democracies against Red totalitarianism, their relation to the occupants is no more that of a defeated power to the conquerors, but of comrades in arms."

"Comrades in arms" are just the words German nationalism is waiting for.

NEED MEN TOO: Count d'Harcourt also says the Western powers mean business with German rearmament: "German cooperation is necessary to make Western defense work. The Allies need not merely ground and positions, they need men. One cannot defend Germany without Germans.... The West envisages today not merely to give back to Germany her economic power, but to ask soldiers from her."

For a second time in 15 years the French Right is banking on Germany. It is difficult to say who is seducing whom; it is a case of mutual political corruption. Yet both camps are offering something they cannot deliver.

It was reported in the New York **Times** of Sept. 11 that the Chief of the French General Staff, Gen. Revers, believes in the "utilization of the German manpower in the defense of Europe." His famous predecessors, Marshal Petain and Gen. Weygand, believed in German victory in World War II. The simple military fact, however, is that West Germany cannot be rearmed. It is broken economically and divided politically.

The French Conservatives not only have poor memory. They are also highly unrealistic in evaluating postwar military facts.

LUXEMBOURG

Perle's predecessor

TWO-PARTY Perle Mesta, promoted by Harry Truman from Washington's top party thrower to U.S. Minister to Luxembourg, talked to newsmen about her new residence shortly after her arrival there.

She chirped brightly: "I think some German lived in it, didn't he?"

Everybody in Luxembourg knew that German: Nazi Gauleiter Gustav Simon, who hanged himself after the war rather than be turned over to Luxembourg authorities for trial.

Most Luxembourgers swear the new Mesta party site is still haunted. They shudder when they pass it.

Before Nazi troops marched into Luxembourg in 1940 the place had been headquarters for a Nazi fifth column in the country. All Nazi orders to burn, pillage and destroy went out from there.

First American diplomatic occupant of the building after the war, George Platt Waller, now U.S. consul at Florence, Italy, tried to de-haunt the place. He had Roman Catholic Bishop Joseph Philippe sprinkle holy water through every room with special blessings.

But to the townsfolk the devil still lives there.

PARAGUAY

Silent shift

THE Colorado Party, Paraguay's only legal one, went through a quiet convulsion last week, dropped Dr. Felipe Molas Lopez, a dentist, as president, and took on Foreign Minister Federico Chaves for the job. It was the sixth change in 17 months. Lopez admired Peron's Argentina too much, Brazil and the U.S. not enough.

INDONESIA

Bed-rock issues

DUTCH-INDONESIAN efforts to reach a basis for Indonesian independence have become mired in basic disagreements. The Dutch want union first, freedom second. Indonesians reply: first give us freedom, then let's decide together what our relations shall be. Negotiators moved from Holland and Belgium for a calmer political atmosphere.

Other people's ideas

But is the American Way the Zulu Way?

By Sebastian Barr

ON Election Night, 1932—when Franklin D. Roosevelt was swept into the Presidency by the overwhelming yea of the American people—a certain liberal newspaper editor drew a line down the middle of a big board on which the votes were being tallied. Then he wrote at the top of one column: United States. And he wrote at the top of the other column: United Estates. The United Estates, as we all know, made a very poor showing in that election.

I was reminded of this while reading Harold J. Laski's **The American Democracy**, a book big in size and far bigger in content. For basically that is the conflict Laski finds—the conflict between the States and the Estates, between the People and predatory Big Business—wherever he turns to study American life, whether manifested in our culture or our foreign policy; our press, movies and radio or our State Dept.

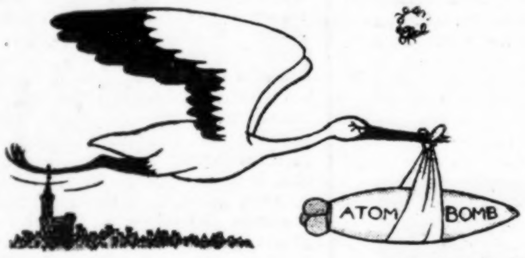
CONDENSED DYNAMITE: I cannot even attempt to review **The American Democracy** in this space. Each chapter is a book in itself, and certain chapters, like that on American Culture, are marvels of condensation. I doubt if a more important book has been published in this country for many years, or one that explains more clearly how we got to be the way we are.

It is surely no secret that our economy, as Laski says, is a market economy, our culture a money culture, and that anything that menaces or even questions the sacred right of private profit is dangerous, communistic and subversive. That is why, Laski point out, FDR was feared and hated by the United Estates, "not because he was profoundly radical but because he refused to accept the wealthy buccaneer as the end product of the American adventure."

NOBODY CAN QUESTION: Now that we are out to prove that capitalism can work in a large part of the globe, nobody must question, much less criticize, the "American way of life."

"A society," writes Laski, "in which the business man is the representative man is bound to look askance at any process of liberation which sets men free from a control to which they become habituated. The business man seeks to insist that the rebel against his power is a rebel against Nature. That is why, also, he is hostile to critical procedures and anxious to preserve those categories of thought which do not challenge the values he has established.

ROT HAS SET IN: "The crisis in American culture is the outcome of the fact that those values are in such obvious decay. Whatever avenues they opened in the past, their application now invokes in most forms of thought a sense of inadequacy and frustration. They prevent growth; thereby they belittle man. They are prohibitions against the emergence of those productive relations in society which enable its members to feel that whatever is accessible of well-being they can both explore and use.



Action, Paris

"By the very fact that expansion of well-being has become a threat to the supremacy of the business man, he is compelled to frustrate that expansion; and when he so acts, he frustrates simultaneously the expansion of culture, too. . . ."

BIG CHANGE NEEDED: "The curse of Midas has been heaped upon the business man in the United States, and he has sought, out of fear, in his turn, to impose its narrowing obligations upon the society he dominates," Laski says. "That is why a fundamental change is needed in the direction of American life; for nothing is more fatal to the greatness of a culture than impotence to translate the mind of man from the relation of past tradition to the relation of emerging creativeness."

Marshallized air

Armistice Day silence

By William S. Gailmor

PARIS

FRANCIS CREMIEUX is a young French radio newsman. Like myself, he is a victim of the cold war. Both of us have been ruled off the radio waves because of "liberal views."

Cremieux was sentenced to radio silence on Nov. 11, 1948—Armistice Day. His script that day referred to the anniversary of the Nov. 11, 1940, "March to Etoile;" when students of all Paris universities—Catholics, Communists, Socialists and other shades—demonstrated against encroachments of their liberties.

The demonstration was later immortalized in a novel by the famous underground writer Vercors, but when Cremieux mentioned it, he was told that all future scripts would have to be okayed by a radio censor. When he protested in the name of the French bill of rights, he was fired.

THE REAL REASON: But the real reason behind his firing, said Cremieux, was his 1947 trip to the U.S. "I saw fascism disguised as liberty creeping upon your country and when I returned to my microphone in Paris, I told what I had seen and experienced' in the U.S. That was the beginning of the end of my career as a radio commentator."

Cremieux told me how more and more he had been forced to double-talk; to indulge in verbal acrobatics to get his points across to the people. The pressures increased in direct proportion to the intensification of the cold war, until the climax came on the anniversary of the "March to Etoile."

FAMILIAR STORY: But under French law a radio reporter can be fired only for dishonest reporting and Cremieux sued Radio France, the government-operated corporation, for a million francs in damages. Radio France offered him instead a new contract—on condition that he not discuss anything political.

For me, that condition has a familiar ring. For Cremieux it presents a familiar dilemma as well. He has a wife and a couple of kids. But as he put it: "In Marshall Plan France, every gram of bread is political."

Film shorts

THE American Screen Writers' Guild has named "The Snake Pit" as the screen play which "dealt most ably with problems of the American scene in 1948." In case you didn't know, "The Snake Pit" deals with life in an insane asylum.

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ZANUCK'S U. S. A.: Producer Darryl Zanuck has revealed why Hollywood does not make better pictures. "After all, our pictures are nothing but a fairly accurate reflection of America."

•

"BLACK" FILMS: British film technicians are indignant at the growing practice of British studios making large parts of their films "on location" in foreign countries—and employing cheap labor. A meeting of the industry's shop stewards has urged the Electrical Trades Union to declare "black" any such films, thus making their completion on return to Britain impossible. If the ETU takes this step, it is certain that other film workers' unions would follow suit.

•

PRIZE WINNER: American premiere of "It Happened in Europe," winner of three international prizes and one of two films endorsed by UN, is scheduled for late Sept. at World Theater in New York. The film has cast of 30 children, none of whom ever faced camera before. It was written, directed and produced by Geza Radvanyi.

DOLLAR STRETCHER

Finding values in blankets

UNLIKE most textile items, the prices of blankets have been reduced very little this fall. You'll have to select wisely to get your money's worth.

You'll find best values with 25 to 75% wool content. A blanket of less than 25% wool might as well be all cotton. On the other hand, more than 75% wool provides little additional warmth. As a matter of fact, a little cotton adds strength and washability.

TESTS FOR QUALITY: But two blankets with the same wool content may be of quite different quality. Apply these tests to judge blankets: Hold the blanket to the light to see if the background is closely woven, preferably with a twill weave showing in the background as a sign of durability. Observe whether the blanket is thickly napped. And pluck at the nap to make sure it is firm.

Make sure the bindings are closely woven and firmly secured. These are often weak points. Generally you'll find rayon satin bindings promoted as "most luxurious." But we recommend cotton sateen as more durable. Compare the sizes offered at various prices. Blankets should be at least 72 x 84, preferably 72 x 90.

Mail-order specials

A NUMBER of good comparative values are always available in the large catalogs of mail-order houses, but their best buys are really to be found in their smaller "flyers."

Montgomery Ward has a sale catalogue out offering specials until Oct. 30. Copies may be obtained from local Ward order offices or stores, by mail or in person.

Outstanding values in the Ward sale, in view of curr[illegible] conditions (some merchandise is already starting to go up again at wholesale levels), include:

- Muslin sheets, 140 count, $2.19 for 81 x 99 inches.
- Men's chambray workshirts, 99c.
- All-nylon slips, lace-trimmed top, $2.98.
- Women's gabardine zip-lined coat, all wool worsted, $29.98, including liner.
- Electric mixer, five-speed, Underwriters Laboratories approved, with two glass bowls, $14.69.

Jersey for basic dresses

SINCE this department has warned against high prices a[illegible] other disadvantages in taffetas, satins and crepes, we suggest jersey as at least one good buy. It is durable, sheds wrinkles easily and makes one of the most versatile basic dresses. [illegible] same dress can be used for sports or dress-up simply by cha[illegible]ing accessories.

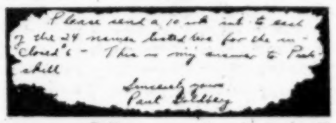
Work clothing reduced

WORK clothing has been reduced 10 to 15% this fall, with largest reductions on dungarees and overalls and smaller cuts on matched suits. Sharpest mark-downs have been made by small independents and such chains as J. C. Penney and Sears Roebuck, while department stores have trimmed prices only about 10%.

Cases and cupboards

ONE of the simplest devices for contriving bookcases and cupboards is the Wilmac Level Shelf support strip. These are metal strips with slots and snap-on supports that can be tacked onto closet walls or other recesses. The supports snap into the strips at any spacing you desire, and shelves are then laid across the supports. Spacing of the shelves can easily be changed as often as desired.

This Guardian Angel writes . . .



Please send a 10 wk sub to each of the 24 names listed here for the enclosed $6 - This is my answer to Peekskill

Sincerely yours
Paul Goldberg

. . . Now, how about YOU?

Enter the following introductory subs to NATIONAL GUARDIAN:

Four 10-week subs for $1 • One 40-week sub for $1

40 wks 10 wks

☐ ☐ ....
PRINT name address ZONE state

☐ ☐ ....

☐ ☐ ....

☐ ☐ ....

☐ Bill me
$........ enclosed

Sender's name ....

Address ....

NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray St., New York 7

"I just love a good soap opera."

Radio report

The giveaways mean takeaway for sponsors

By John Norton

THERE'S a lot of moaning in Radio City these days because of the Federal Communications Commission's move against giveaway programs. The networks are sore because the "easy money" shows bring them about $35,000,000 every year in time sales alone. In addition, the producers—the men who think up the cute schemes—make thousands of dollars weekly.

The FCC action was not sudden. Last summer it warned the get-rich-quick productions. At first radio executives cautiously refrained from starting new giveaways. But when they saw that no punishment was meted out to new jackpot extravaganzas, they went full steam ahead. Programs mushroomed all over the dial. Prizes grew more fabulous, the gimmicks screwier.

YOU PAY TO PLAY: Last month the FCC was finally spurred into action. It said that some giveaways violate lottery laws and that any station that continues them after Sept. 30 will forfeit its license when renewal time comes.

Fred Wright

"This is the vice-president of the Whiffo Widget Corp. I won him on the quiz program."

According to law, if a winner is determined by lot and not skill a game can be considered a lottery. To this the broadcasters reply that contestants need skill to answer a question or identify a song. But the FCC feels that these devices do not really require skill. Answers are frequently published in papers and winning is a matter of luck.

Another element in a lottery is that participants give a "consideration" to play. The radioites claim that listeners pay nothing, are therefore not involved in lotteries. However, the FCC points out that the listener actually does pay a consideration. He gives the station his attention, which is a marketable commodity because the broadcaster sells the listener's time and attention to the advertiser.

SPONSOR TAKE ALL: In fact, the dialer is paying for his set, repairs and electricity, in addition to giving his time. From this point of view, the giveaway is actually a takeaway—with the sponsor getting the best of the bargain. True, the jackpot shows are dispensing about $200,000 a week to lucky listeners. But they are getting more value from their audiences and offering little entertainment in return.

This point has aroused radio workers—actors, writers, musicians—against the prize programs. There is little call for talent when the chief ingredients of a show are one hyperthyroid master of ceremonies and assorted home appliances.

What's likely to happen? Very little in the near future. Three networks have asked court injunctions against the FCC. They charge that their "property rights" are being violated. A Chicago court has ruled that the ban cannot go into effect until legal issues are settled.

AN END FOR DIAPERS? It will probably be a matter of months, if not years, and may involve a Supreme Court test before the FCC's position is upheld. Meanwhile the networks are going ahead with fancier jackpot shows. In the end, listener participation broadcasts, which award prizes to people at home by telephone, may be barred. But, those programs which give gifts only to the studio audience are expected to be okayed.

Some insiders feel the fad for giveaways will wane soon anyway. Eventually, it's believed, tuners-in will realize how infinitesimal their chances of winning are—several million to one. And then a sponsor will have to offer entertainment instead of a year's supply of diapers.

Pots & pocketbooks

Chile – Its good for you!

By Charlotte Parks

CHILI con carne seems to be far more popular in the west than along the Atlantic coast. Chili stands are part of the western lanscape and every drugstore serves big bowls—it cools you off in hot weather and warms you up in cold. It's the truck driver's favorite and everyone knows that they are good guides in eating.

GOOD—AND CHEAP: Chili's a treat for the person with healthy taste-buds. You can use a cheap grade of hamburger or left-over meat or top-grade round steak. You pays your money and takes your choice. In any case, you have calls for extra servings.

Chili con carne

- 1 lb. hamburger
- 1½ cups chopped celery
- 3 large onions (sliced)
- 1 red pepper (mild, sliced)
- 1 can Italian tomato paste or one large can tomatoes
- 3 garlic buds (chopped fine)
- 1 No. 2 can kidney beans

Fry hamburger, onions, celery, pepper and garlic to a rich brown, stir in and brown ½ cup flour, add tomato, kidney beans and 2 cups water. Cook from 15 to 30 minutes longer. Add chili pepper according to taste, and even omit it entirely if you think it's too strong for your palate, although chili lovers can stand a lot of heat.

CHILI MAC: This is simply chili served with plenty of macaroni. It is equally good served with plain boiled rice or luscious with mashed murphys.

Chili pie Mex

Fill a glass, pottery baking dish or even a tin pie dish with chili. Cover with this crust;

- 1 cup yellow corn meal
- 2 tbs. baking powder
- 1 tsp. salt
- 1 egg (well beaten)
- 1 cup milk

Bake in hot oven about 15 minutes or until a straw comes clean.

CHILI PIE DANIEL BOONE: Cover chili with regulation hot biscuit crust made a trifle moist so that it can be dropped by spoonfuls over the chili. Bake in hot oven.

Chili makes a fine buffet spread for the high school and college crowd during the football season or winter sports days. It can be prepared and reheated and seems to taste even better after reheating. Some people like it with the consistency of soup rather than a stew and serve it in generous sized bowls with plenty of crackers.

Midwest calendar

FLINT, MICH.: Education and recreation combined at Progressive Party picnic, Sunday, Sept. 25, for folks in this area. At Murphy Park. Contact local committee for information.

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CHICAGO: Robeson meetings: Fri., Sept. 23, 8 p.m., Bakers Hall, 218 W. Oak St.; Sat., Sept. 24, 8 p.m., Rose Bowl Ballroom, 4724 E. Cottage Grove Ave.; Sun., Sept. 25, 3:30 p.m., People's Auditorium, 2457 W. Chicago Av.

CHICAGO: PP's 35th Ward here invites all to Autumn Party-Barndance-Raffle 7:30 p.m., Sat., Sept. 24. Games, entertainment, music and refreshments for $1.25 at 2846 N. Kenneth Av.

Report to Readers

Mr. Dewey, your Klan is showing!

ANYONE could have predicted (and many, notably the N.Y. **Daily Compass,** did) that Gov. Dewey would whitewash those guilty of the odious Peekskill riots against two Paul Robeson concerts Aug. 27 and Sept. 4.

But Dewey has outdone himself this time: he has ordered a whitewash with a vengeance. The vengeance is expressed in a directive to the same officials who allowed the Peekskill riots to occur to conduct a grand jury investigation to fix the blame on the concertgoers rather than on those who attacked them.

DEWEY'S statement on the riots occupied nearly two full columns in the N.Y. **Times** and **Herald Tribune.** In the whole of it there was not one single, simple word of concern or sympathy for any one of the hundreds of Americans who were grievously injured by stoning, clubbing and mauling by other Americans whose passions had been aroused by press, veterans' organizations and the statements of Dewey's own office and police representatives. Nor was there a word of balm for those whose automobiles were stoned and wrecked. And, of course, there was no word of compassion for the children, and men with minds like children, who were led into acts of mob violence by irresponsible, lying newspapers and public officials.

Instead, the man who was big business's first choice for President of the United States in 1948 had this to say:

"The Communist groups obviously did provoke this incident. . . .

"These followers of Red totalitarianism, which teaches violence and the suppression of individual liberty, were themselves made the victims of lawlessness and the suppression of fundamental rights."

The security guard, which accompanied the second concert audience to be ready for another attack such as broke up [illegible] earlier concert, was described by Dewey as "military in character."

ANY ordinary whitewash job might have ended there, but not Dewey's. He thereupon ordered the Westchester district attorney to conduct a grand jury investigation—not into the Peekskill **Evening Star,** which fomented both riots, nor into the veterans' organizations which mobilized the mobs—but into the following:

Whether the Robeson concerts were "initiated and sponsored for the purpose of deliberately inciting . . ."; whether they were "part of the Communist strategy"; and whether the Robeson "guard forces" were a "quasi-military force."

"We have abolished the Bund and the Ku Klux Klan," Dewey said in this connection, "and we will not permit similar Communist organizations to exist."

No investigation is needed to determine that the Robeson guard was not a "quasi-military force": unlike the Klan and the Bund, its members volunteered as individuals for the task of protecting women and children from attack if the cops failed; they were dues-paying members of a dozen or more trade unions and all but those who were beaten and injured by Dewey's cops were back at their jobs when the bloody Peekskill weekend was over.

WHAT does warrant investigation in Dewey's statement is whether, indeed, Dewey has abolished the Klan, as he says—and here is why:

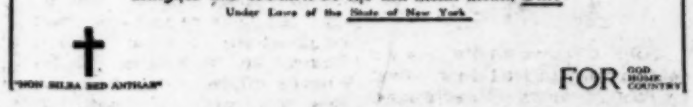
The same day Dewey made his remarks about abolishing the Klan, People's Artists, the organization which sponsored the Robeson concerts, received a letter on the letterhead of the Knights and Women of the Ku Klux Klan, incorporated under the laws of N. Y. State. The letterhead is reproduced and the text given below.

The letter was signed "James J. O'Toole, Kligrapp," postmarked Staten Island, a Republican stronghold in N.Y.C.—a leadpipe cinch for Dewey's wardheelers in the area to track down if he says the word—which he won't.

Not only is the Klan operating openly in N.Y., right under Dewey's nose, but the signature to the above-mentioned letter reveals that something new has been added—the Klan has extended its jurisdiction to include the Irish. Unless, of course, the O'Toole signature was a typographical Eire.

Yours for a million GUARDIAN readers,

John T. McManus



Knights and Women of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.

Under Laws of the State of New York

"NON SILBA SED ANTHAR"

FOR GOD HOME COUNTRY

Under the above letterhead James J. O'Toole wrote:

"We want to thank you for the help you are giving us in securing new members for our order. Last week we received 722 applications from people in Westchester County. Of course at least one-third of these will be rejected as they do not have real Christian American motives in becoming members.

"You see the people living in Westchester County do not care for negroes anyway and when it comes to Red Niggers that is the limit. If you poor ignorant rats tried to pull off in Russia what you try here, you would die in 12 hours.

"Keep up your rotten work, it is the best advertising we have had in 12 years."

American art in the deep-freeze period

AN old lady walked into the Rincon Hill post office in San Francisco the other day and asked for "those communist murals" she had read about.

Some of the 29 "communist murals" are reproduced on this page. They were painted by Anton Refregier, one of the foremost American artists. (An exhibition of his works will be held in the ACA Gallery in New York City from Oct. 17 to Nov. 17.)

FDR TO TRUMAN: "The story of my project," says Refregier, "is the story of this country as we moved from a proud and progressive people to one possessed by hysteria and fear." It is the story of the New Deal, which commissioned Refregier to portray the history of California, and of the Truman Administration whose servants banned a likeness of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Refregier painted a six-foot head of FDR in a panel dealing with the organization of the United Nations in San Francisco. Then he received a letter from Washington informing him that the "central portion" of the panel was "disapproved." FDR was in the middle.

O PIONEERS! The fact that the New Deal had sponsored the murals was enough for the Society of California Pioneers. Refregier had gone to them for material on the early history of California. He found "a group of ancient ladies, sitting stiffly on the edges of their chairs, drinking tea." Their reaction was: "Do you mean to say they let you go ahead with those pictures and here we are paying all those taxes?"

But Refregier's troubles had only begun. The Hearst San Francisco **Examiner,** which spearheaded the drive against the murals, objected to a sympathetic portrayal of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings. It also objected that part of the Stars and Stripes was obstructed by the head.

In a panel on freedom of worship, Refregier had painted four books marked with a cross, a six pointed star, a crescent and the name Tom Paine. "The name of Tom Paine," said Refregier, "seemed to me necessary to express true freedom of worship." The government disagreed. Take Tom Paine OUT, said Washington.

WALLS WITHOUT IDEAS: That is how it went. Today the 29 murals remain on display in the Rincon Hill post office, but even Refregier does not know for how long. "A few days ago," he says, "a friend sent me a clipping from the **Examiner.** Front-page stuff. The Sons of the Golden West are . . . inviting all the other 'patriotic' groups to join in a kill. Some night, perhaps, men will come with buckets of white paint and it will take very little time to destroy that which took me so long to make. And in the morning, it will be just like it was three years ago. White walls, without color, without ideas—ideas which make some people so mad and so afraid."

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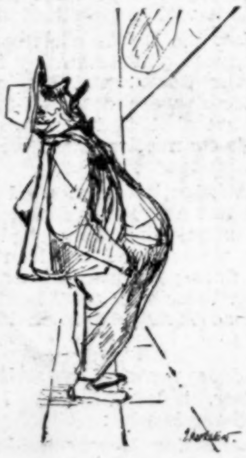
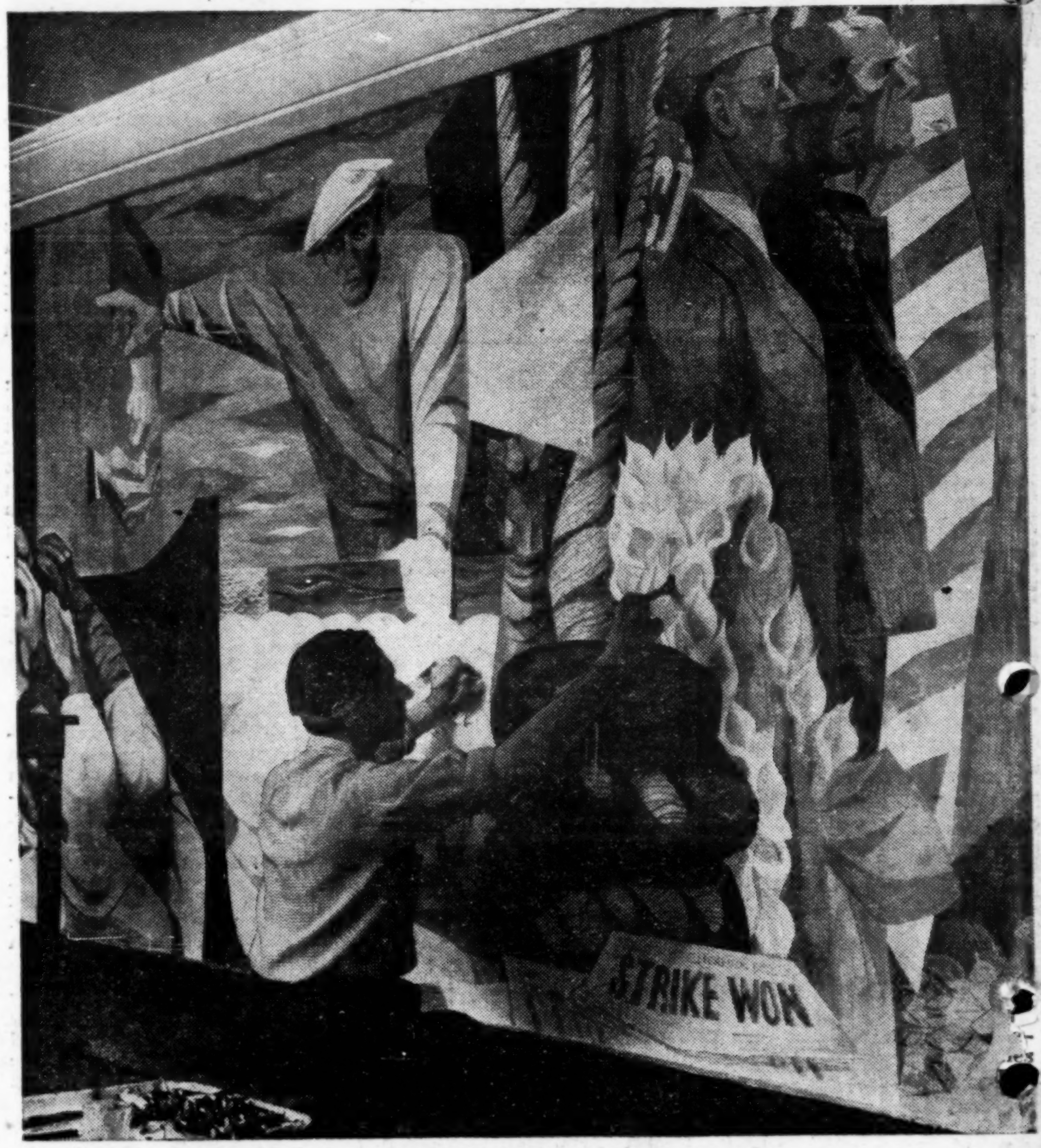
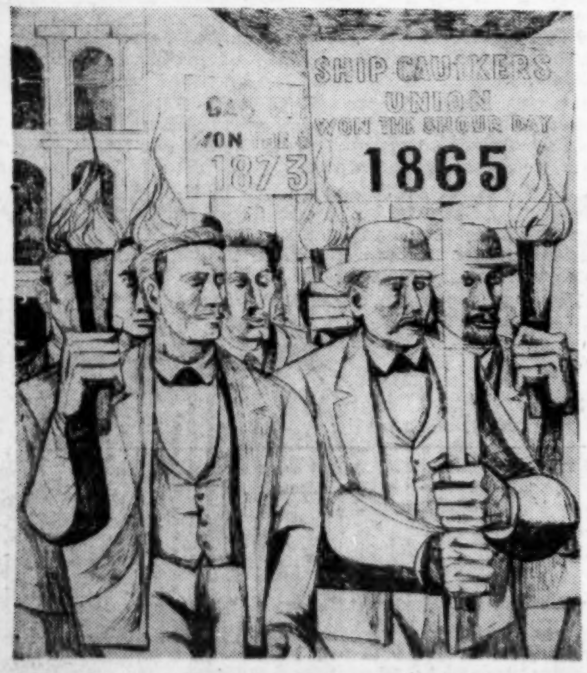
An art lover inspired by the San Francisco **Examiner,** drawn by Refregier on the spot (below).

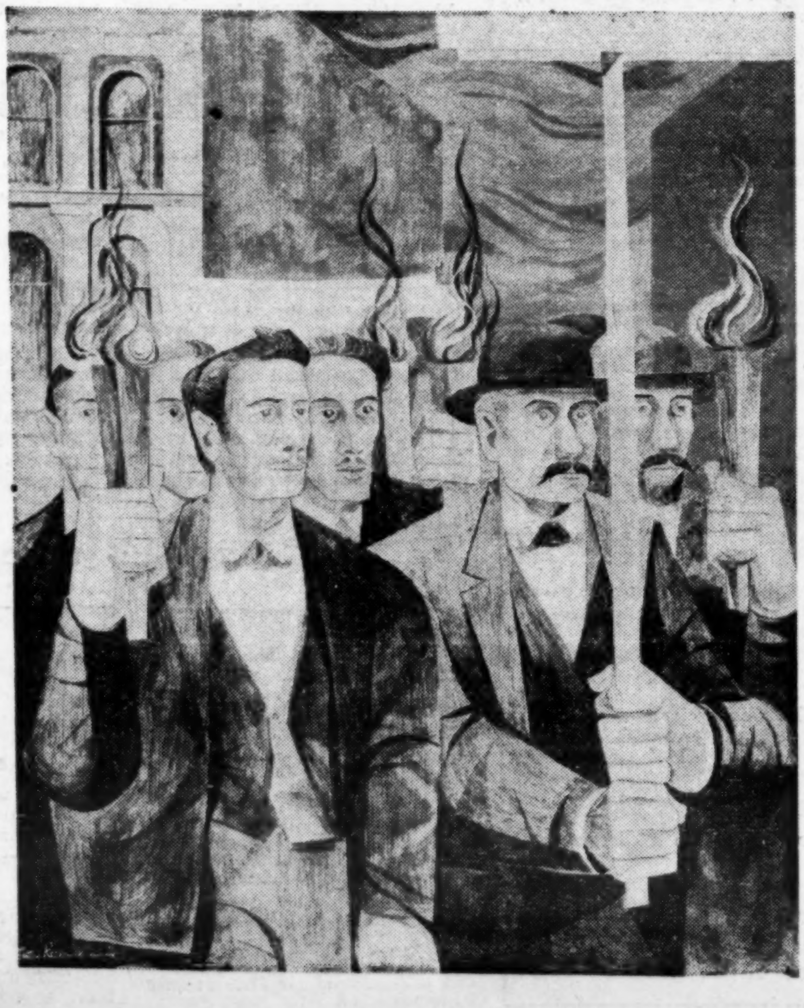




"All hell broke loose on the day I finished this panel" (above), says Anton Refregier. The Veterans of Foreign Wars accused him of showing the VFW taking part in a waterfront riot. Actually, the picture shows the annual July 5 ceremony commemorating the death of two strikers in the 1934 San Francisco waterfront and general strike. One of the dead strikers was a member of the VFW . The Sperry post was named after him. Refregier thought it would be all ri to portray the victim wea a VWF cap. But the government refused to okay the picture until the VFW cap was painted out.



Would you like to know why only the bottoms of the signs are shown in the picture at right? Well, look above. Originally the signs contained a reference to the eight-hour day won by labor in the last century. But in 1947, year of Taft-Hartley, the government considered the eight-hour day "controversial" and ordered artist Refregier not to refer to it.



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NEWS DEALER
DISPLAYING
THE
GUARDIAN?

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ASK HIM TO GIVE
NATIONAL GUARDIAN
PROMINENT DISPLAY
ON HIS STAND.
IT WILL HELP HIS
SALES AND IT WILL
HELP US TOO.